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OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE
NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

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OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NATIONAL

Democratic Convention,

HELD IN

CINCINNATI.

JUNE 2-6, 1856.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

MONDAY, June 2, 1856.

Pursuant to the call of the Democratic National Committee, the Delegates to the National Convention assembled in Smith & Nixon's Hall in Cincinnati, Ohio, at 12 o'clock, noon, on the second day of June, 1856.

Robert McLane, of Maryland, as Chairman of the National Democratic Committee, called the Convention to order.

W. A. Richardson, of Illinois, arose and proposed that the Convention, for temporary organization, should elect Samuel Medary, of Ohio, President *pro tem.*, (Loud applause), which was unanimously adopted.

On motion, A. B. Clitherall, of Alabama, and W. F. Ritchie, of Virginia; were appointed Secretaries *pro tem.*

Mr. B. F. Hallett, of Massachusetts, asked that before further proceedings, the call of the Convention should be read, which was done by the Secretary. It is as follows :

Voted, That the next Democratic National Convention be held at Cincinnati, in the State of Ohio.

Voted, That in constituting the future National Convention, the Democratic Committee, in order to secure the respective rights of the States, each State shall be entitled to twice the number of delegates it has in the Electoral College, and no more; and the Democratic Committee, in making arrangements for the next Democratic Convention, provide such number of seats, and secure the same to the delegates elect.

Hon. A. P. Edgerton, of Ohio, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, handed to the President a list of the Delegates elected where seats were not contested, which was as follows :

LIST OF DELEGATES TO THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,

Held at Cincinnati, June 2d, 1856.

MAINE.

Wyman B. S. Moor,	Waterville,	A. B. Chase,	Dover,
William K. Kimball,	Paris,	Isaac Tyler,	Farmington,
John C. Talbot, jr.,	Lubec,	Israel R. Bray,	Kingfield,
Samuel Watts,	Thomaston,	F. T. Lally,	Gardiner,
Dudley F. Leavitt,	Bangor,	Andrew Masters,	Hallowell,
Benjamin Wiggin,	Bangor,	A. G. Chandler,	Calais,
Jonathan Smith,	Portland,	Israel Chadbourne,	York,
John Babson,	Wiscasset.	George Parcher,	Ellsworth.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Harry Hibbard,	Bath,	Henry B. Rust,	Wolfeboro',
Joseph H. Smith,	Dover,	George Bowers,	Nashua,
John H. George,	Concord,	Horatio Kimball,	Keene,
B. F. Ayer,	Manchester,	Jonas Livingston,	Claremont,
Chas. Levi Woodbury,	Portsmouth.	Robert Ingalls,	

VERMONT.

D. A. Smalley,	Burlington,	Tappan Stevens,	Newbury,
J. P. Kidder,	West Randolph,	John Cain,	Rutland,
C. G. Eastman,	Montpelier,	Lyman P. White,	Whiting,
Bradley Barlow,	Fairfield,	Isaac B. Bowdish,	Swanton,
Robert Harvey,	Barnet.	P. S. Benjamin,	Wolcott.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Benjamin F. Butler,	Lowell,	James Cheever,	Boston,
Charles G. Greene,	Boston,	George B. Loring,	Salem,
N. J. Lord,	Salem,	Albert J. Currier,	Newburyport,
Whiting Griswold,	Greenfield,	Chas. H. Peaslee,	Boston,
S. B. Phinney,	Barnstable,	W. W. Pierce,	Charlestown,
James D. Thompson,	New Bedford,	Fisher A. Hildreth,	Lowell,
Alden S. Loud,		W. Fessenden,	Townsend,
E. P. Hathway,	Abington,	Isaac Davis,	Worcester,
Ezra S. Conant,	Randolph,	George W. Gill,	Worcester,
Henry P. Henshaw,	Newton,	Stephen C. Bemis,	Springfield,
Patrick Riley,	Boston,	Calvin Tincey,	Palmer,
Isaac Adams,	Boston,	James S. Whitney,	Springfield,
Benjamin F. Hallett,	Boston.	Henry H. Childs,	Pittsfield,

RHODE ISLAND.

Wm. B. Lawrence,	Newport.	H. J. Burroughs,	Providence,
Ariel Ballou,	Woonsocket,	Wm. J. Miller,	Bristol,
Peleg W. Gardiner,	Providence,	Elisha R. Potter,	Kingston,
Alfred Anthony,	Do.	Albert S. Gallup,	Providence.

CONNECTICUT.

James T. Pratt,	Rock Hill,	James Gallagher,	New Haven,
Colin M. Ingersoll,	New Haven,	Sam'l. Ingham,	Essex,
Joel W. White,	Norwich,	John P. C. Mather,	New London,
E. A. Phelps,	Nh. Colebrook,	Peleg C. Child,	Nh. Woodstock,
Heman H. Barbour,	Hartford,	John C. Smith,	Sharon,
Alvan P. Hyde,	Tolland.	Wm. D. Bishop,	Bridgeport.

NEW JERSEY.

Wm. Cook,	Bordentown,	Wm. D. Davis,	Freehold,
Alfred Hugg,	Camden,	Arch. Osburn,	Asbury,
J. S. Darsey,	Newark,	Ingham Coryell,	Lambertsville,
E. R. V. Wright,	Hudson City,	Jacob Vanatta,	Morristown,
Wm. Hanna,	Camden,	John Hooper,	Paterson,
Ephraim E. Sheppard,	Bridgeton,	Simeon Harrison,	Orange,
Garrett S. Cannon,	Bordentown.	Charles Fink,	Jersey City.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Arnold Plummer,	Franklin,	John G. Brenner,	Philadelphia,
Henry D. Foster,	Greensburg,	Orrin Jones,	
D. R. Porter,	Harrisburg,	Thomas J. Roberts,	Philadelphia.
James L. Reynolds,	Lancaster,	John Rutter,	West Chester,
Edward G. Webb,	Philadelphia.	Charles D. Manley,	Media, Del. Co.
John McCarthy,	Do.	John D. Stiles,	Allentown,
Jas. C. Vandyke,	Do.	Ed. Nicholson,	Bucks County,
C. McKibben,	Do.	J. Glancy Jones,	Reading,
John Robbins, jr.,	Kensington,	P. K. Miller,	Do.
Chas. W. Carrigan,	Philadelphia,	Jacob Forney,	Kittanning,
Joseph Lippincott,	Do.	John L. Dawson,	Brownsville,
Andrew Burke,	Pittsburg,	C. L. Ward,	Towanda,
Samuel W. Black,	Pittsburg,	W. F. Packer,	Williamsport,
M. C. Trout,	Sharon,	John H. Morrison,	
J. L. Gillis,	Ridgway,	Henry Welsh,	York,
J. Porter Branley,	Meadville,	John Stuart,	Carlisle,
A. S. Wilson,	Lewistown,	A. P. Lusk,	
H. B. Swan,	Lancaster,	John Cessna,	Bedford,
Joseph B. Baker,	Gap,	John C. Everhart,	Martinsburg,
John Weidman,	Lebanon,	Richard White,	Hemlock,
J. M. Kreister,	Harrisburg,	Alex. McKinney,	Greensburg,
Wm. L. Dewar,	Sunbury,	William Hopkins,	Washington,
C. M. Straub,	Pottsville,	Charles Barnett,	Pittsburg,
H. B. Wright,	Wilkesbarre,	James A. Gibson,	Allegheny Co.
J. G. Montgomery,	Danville,	John N. McGuffin,	New Castle,
John N. Hutchison,	Easton,	J. Y. James,	Warren,
H. B. Beardsly,	Honesdale,	Wilson Laird,	Erie.
W. E. Piolett,	Wyscon.		

DELAWARE.

George Riddle,	Wilmington.	Wm. H. Ross,	Seaford.
Gove Salisbury,	Dover.	James A. Bayard,	Wilmington.
Willard Salisbury,	Georgetown.	H. Ridgley,	Dover.

MARYLAND.

R. B. Carmichael,		James M. Buchanan,	Baltimore.
Walter P. Snow,	Snow Hill.	William Byrne,	Baltimore.
William D. Merrick,	Allen's Fresh,	Rob't M. McLane,	Baltimore.
Nathaniel Cox,	Baltimore.	C. J. M. Gwinn,	Baltimore.
Cathill Humphreys,	Salisbury.	J. Thompson Mason,	Annapolis.
James A. Stewart,	Cambridge.	S. Lewis Lowe,	Frederick City.
John A. J. Creswell,	Elkton, Cecil Co.	Edward Hammond,	Ellicott's Mills.
Otho Scott,	Belle Air.	John A. B. Leonard.	Poolesville,

VIRGINIA.

T. S. Bocoek,	Appomattox c. h.	Eppa Hunton,	Brentsville,
E. W. Hubbard,	Curdsville,	Thomas M. Isbell,	Rippon, Jeff. co.
W. H. Clark,	Scottsburgh,	J. Randolph Tucker,	Winchester,
W. P. Thompson,	Retreat,	Chas. W. Russell,	Wheeling.
John P. Barbour, Jr.,	Alexandria.	James Nelson,	Fairmount.
B. W. Jackson,	Parkersburg.	J. L. Carr,	Kanawha c. h.
J. G. Jenkins,	Green Bottom.	Eustace Conway,	Fredericksburg
M. R. H. Garnett,	Loyds, Essex Co.	James A. Seddon,	Goochland Co.
Paulus Powell,	Amherst c. h.	R. A. Banks,	Madison c. h.
R. K. Wade,	Petersburg.	Lewis E. Harris,	Mattoac Depot.
Wm. B. Shands,	Southampton.	W. H. Edwards,	Baileysburg.
H. T. Hopkins,	Macon, Powhatan	M. W. Fisher,	Eastville.
George Booker,	Hampton,	Archibald Graham,	Lexington.
Samuel C. Williams,	Woodstock,	A. A. Chapman,	
Fayette McMullen,	Rye, Scott Co.	John B. Floyd,	Abington.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Wm. S. Ashe,	Wilmington.	W. W. very,	Morgantown.
R. R. Heath,	Edonton.	Bedford Brown,	Locust Hill.
Wm. Sloan,	Dallas.	H. G. Williams,	Hubbardstown.
J. T. Granberry,	Woodville.	F. A. Thornton,	Macon Depot.
M. Silby,	Lake Landing.	John Morrison,	Carthage.
Wm. J. Yates,	Fayetteville.	A. J. Stafford,	Winston.
T. D. McDowall,	Elizabethtown.	J. W. Neal,	Lawsonville.
Burton Craige,	Salisbury.	J. B. Gordon,	Wilkesboro.
Thos. L. Clingan,	Asheville.	J. T. Lewis,	Faulkner.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

F. W. Pickins,	Edgefield c. h.	B. H. Brown,	Barnwell.
J. Gadberry,	Unionville.	J. L. Manning,	Fulton.
B. H. Wilson,	Georgetown.	J. D. Allen,	Barnwell.
C. W. Dudley,	Bennettsville	James Farrow,	Spartanburg.
W. D. Porter,		F. J. Moses,	Sumpterville.
C. McBeth,	Charleston.	E. G. Palmer,	Winnsboro.

GEORGIA.

J. W. H. Underwood,	Rome.	James Gardner,	Augusta.
M. J. Wellborn,	Columbus.	L. Stephens,	Sparta.
John E. Ward,	Savannah.	A. H. Colquitt,	Newton.
R. F. Lyon,	Albany.	Hugh Buchanan,	Newnan.
W. K. DeGraffenried,	Macon.	J. W. Lewis,	Cartersville.
Charles Murphy,	Decatur.	Wm. H. Hull,	Athens.
Aug. R. Wright,	Rome.	A. E. Cochran,	Brunswick.
H. Strickland,	Hightower.	J. T. Irvin,	Washington.
A. S. Atkinson,	Langsbury.	R. J. Conout,	Atlanta.
John J. Cary,	Macon.	J. L. Rowland,	Cartersville.

ALABAMA.

John Forsyth,	Mobile.	James R. Powell,	Montgomery.
R. Chapman.	Huntsville.	James B. Martin,	Talladega.
David Hubbard,	Kenlock.	J. W. Portiss,	Suggsville,
John Cochran,	Eufala.	A. L. Milligan,	Geneva,
Julius Hessee	Mobile.	J. B. Tate,	Uchee,
Bolling Hall,	Montgomery.	R. H. Clements,	Tuscaloosa,
A. B. Clitherall,	Carrollton.	Thos. H. Hobbs,	Athens,
H. D. Smith,	Florence.	W. Acklin,	Huntsville.
T. J. Burnett,	Greenville.	H. W. Nelson,	

LOUISIANA.

E. LaSere,	New Orleans.	A. Derbis,	New Orleans.
P. Soule,	New Orleans.	Thos Cottman,	Donaldsonville.
W. W. Pugh,	Assumption.	F. H. Hatch,	Darlington.
Chas. G. McHatton,	Baton Rouge.	Alexander Mouton,	Vermillionville.
P. A. Moise,	Natchitoches.	O. D. Block,	
W. S. Parham,	Richmond.	John L. Lewis.	Minden.

MISSOURI.

W. A. Harris,	Bowling Green.	Thomas B. English,	Jackson.
E. D. Bevitt,	St. Charles.	Joseph Coffman,	St. Genevieve.
James S. Greene,	Canton.	Thomas B. Hudson,	St. Louis.
A. W. Lamb,	Hannibal.	D. D. Berry,	Springfield.
P. H. McBride,	Columbia.	Ferdinand Kennett,	Old Mines.
William Shields,	Lexington.	W. Watson,	Georgetown.
R. H. Stevens,	Bellemonte.	James Craig,	St. Joseph.
S. R. Shrader,	Liberty.	John S. Phelps,	Springfield.
John S. McCracken,	Jefferson City.	Stark Manzey.	Brownville.

INDIANA.

Wm. Rockhill,	Fort Wayne.	James Osborn,	Fairfield.
John Pettit,	Lafayette.	Alex. F. Morrison,	Indianapolis.
Jos. W. Chapman,	Madison.	Franklin Hardin,	Glenns Valley.
John L. Robinson,	Rushville.	G. T. Cookerly,	Terre Haute.
Turner Nelson,	Mt. Vernon.	Wm. M. Franklin,	Spencer.
John C. Hebertt,	Vincennes.	S. W. Telford,	Lafayette.
P. M. Kent,	New Albany.	M. D. Manson,	Crawfordsville.
D. S. Huffstetter,	Orleans.	A. A. Whitlock,	
R. W. Aiken,	Bloomington.	N. O. Ross,	Peru.
S. P. Mooney,	Brownstown.	G. W. McConnell,	Angola.
C. O'Brien,	Lawrenceburg.	J. W. Borden,	Fort Wayne.
A. Davidson.	Greensburg.	J. R. Slack,	Huntington.
James Elder,	Richmond.	W. Ryan,	Anderson.

OHIO.

Samuel Medary,	Columbus.	L. W. Safford,	Chillicothe.
Henry B. Paine,	Cleveland.	Wm. Medill,	Lancaster.
James B. Stedman,	Toledo.	B. P. Hewitt,	McArthur.
C. L. Vallandigham,	Dayton.	Lewis Evans,	Newark.
Washington McLean,	Cincinnati.	W. A. Delap'aine,	Circleville.
J. L. Vattier,	Cincinnati.	H. C. Brumback,	Mt. Gillead.
J. J. Quinn,	Cincinnati.	John Mack,	Shelby.
Joseph Cooper,	Glendale.	D. B. Austin,	
M. C. Ryan,	Hamilton.	J. A. Marchand,	Wooster.
R. S. Cunningham,	Eaton.	M. Hoagland,	Millersburg.
G. V. Dorsey,	Piqua.	Eli Miller,	Mt. Vernon.
J. Counts,	Sidney.	H. J. Jewett,	Zanesville.
J. G. Haley,	Napoleon.	Amos Layman,	Marietta.
M. C. Whitley,		Wm. Lawrence,	Washington.
John W. Bell,	Hillsboro.	Jas. R. Morris,	Woodsfield.
George W. Hamer,	Georgetown.	Geo. W. Belden,	Canton.
J. M. Smith,	London.	R. O. Hammond,	Akron.
T. L. Carothers,	Wilmington.	Arthur Hughes,	Cleveland.

John A. Corwin,	Urbana.	D. R. Paige,	Madison.
James Wood,		R. P. Ranny,	Warren.
M. P. Bean,	Bucyrus.	S. W. Gilson,	Canfield.
George W. Glick,	Tremont.	W. H. Gill,	New Lisbon.
J. W. Davis,	Portsmouth.	Geo. W. McCook,	Steubenville.

MISSISSIPPI.

Powhattan Ellis,	Natchez.	W. W. H. Linn,	Houston.
E. Barksdale,	Jackson.	W. L. Balfour,	Vernon.
O. R. Singleton,	Canton.	G. A. Sykes,	Austin.
James Drane,	Bankston.	J. A. Orr,	Houston,
G. F. Neill,	Carrollton.	Wm. A. Stone,	Monticello.
Jacob Thompson,	Oxford.	Sampson Parks,	
A. G. Brown,	Newtown,	A. M. Clayton,	Marshall Co.

TEXAS.

R. B. Hubbard,	Tyler.	Wm. S. Oldham,	Austin.
Matt Ward,	Jefferson.	H. P. Bee,	Laredo.
W. C. Pollock,	Nacogdoches.	Jacob Wallder.	San Antonio.
Wm. Fields,	Galveston.	Guy M. Bryan,	Brazona.

FLORIDA.

C. E. Dyke,	Tallahassee.	John H. Parkhill,	Tallahassee.
J. R. Brooks,	Pensacola.	S. St. George Rodgers,	Ocala.
D. L. Yulee,	Homasassa.	J. T. Maybee,	Tampa.

TENNESSEE.

Thomas C. Lyon,	Knoxville.	W. B. Bate,	Gallatin.
E. L. Gardenhire,	Sparta.	T. W. Newham,	Winchester.
W. E. Travis,	Manleyville.	J. H. Thomas,	Columbia.
W. M. Lowrey,	Greeneville.	Thomas M. Jones,	Pulaski.
J. D. Goodpasture,	Livingston.	S. P. Allison,	Nashville,
H. M. Colquitt,		M. A. Quarles,	Clarksville.
Lewis Shepherd,	Chickamanga.	T. J. Freeman,	Trenton.
Austin Miller,	Bolivar.	B. F. Lamb,	Paris.
B. M. Moore,	Lawrenceburg.	J. Knox Walker,	Memphis.
E. G. Eastman,	Nashville.	L. C. Waggoner,	Franklin.
Jacob Miller,	Yellow Stone.	John C. Ramsey,	Knoxville.
W. W. Ferguson,	Carthage.	A. J. Vaughen,	Madisonville.

KENTUCKY.

J. P. Bates,	Glasgow,	B. Spalding,	Lebanon,
Jas. H. Garrard,	Danville,	Luther Branner,	Boonville,
C. A. Wickliffe,	Bardstown,	German Baker,	Shelbyville,
J. P. Martin,	Prestonsburg,	L. B. Dickerson,	Georgetown,
Levy Tyler,	Louisville,	E. Whitaker,	Maysville,
B. L. Clarke,	Franklin,	J. C. Mason,	Owingsville,
J. C. Breckinridge,	Lexington,	J. W. Stevenson,	Covington,
Beriah Magoffin,	Harrodsburg,	G. B. Cook,	Princeton,
Wm. Preston,	Louisville,	John Chapeze,	Greenville,
T. C. McCreery,	Owensboro',	R. B. J. Twyman,	Paducah,
L. Desha,		S. Garfield,	Paris,
Nath'l. S. Strange,	Smith's Grove.	W. E. Frazer,	Columbia.

ILLINOIS.

J. A. Mattison, Wm. A. Richardson, T. L. Harris, J. W. Singleton, H. B. L. Steward, J. C. Walker, L. F. Ross, J. L. McCormier, R. W. English, S. Y. Baldwin, W. Cockle, C. T. Gibbs,	Springfield, Quincy, Pettesburg, Chicago, Bloomington, Lewiston, Jacksonville, Alton, Decatur, Peoria, Griggsville.	John S. Hacker, T. R. Young, W. B. Ficklin, H. W. Dorsett, Wm. R. Morrison, J. B. Danforth, jr., B. F. Fredley, J. M. Campbell, C. H. Lamphier, T. S. Hick, C. J. Houseman,	Cairo, Marshall, Charleston, Waukegan, Waterloo, Rock Island, Macomb, Springfield, New Haven, Rockford.
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WISCONSIN.

Nelson Dewey, Paul Juneau, James B. Cross, Satterlee Clarke, H. J. Shultyes,	Cassville, Juneau, Milwaukee, Green Lake, Schlersingerville,	Sam'l. Crawford, Horace T. Saunders, M. J. Thomas, W. J. Gibson, Beriah Brown,	Mineral Point, Racine, Fond du Lac, La Crosse, Madison.
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IOWA.

T. S. Wilson, W. F. Coolbaugh, C. J. McFarland, J. C. Ramsey,	Dubuque, Burlington, Agency City.	D. H. Solomons, A. T. Walling, R. M. Evans, Bernhart Henn,	Glenwood, Keokuk, Iowa City, Fairfield.
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MICHIGAN.

W. F. Story, F. C. Whipple, John P. Cook, A. E. Campbell, C. C. Chatfield, M. E. Crofoot,	Detroit, Howell, Hillsdale, Battle, Eaton Rapids, Pontiac.	Wm. Hale, J. S. Barry, J. G. Thurber, Jacob Beeson, Geo. W. Peck, Ebenezer Warren,	Detroit. Constantine, Monroe, Niles, Lansing, Saut St. Marie.
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ARKANSAS.

R. M. Gaines, J. N. Embree, C. A. Carroll, R. E. Jackson, J. P. Johnson,	Gaines Landing Pine Bluff, Fort Smith, Valley Grove,	John Hutt, John S. Roame, T. B. Flournoy, C. Caldwell,	Little Rock, Pine Bluff, Laconice, Madison,
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CALIFORNIA.

P. C. Rust, Sam'l. H. Dosh, D. E. Buel, J. H. Hill,	Marysville, Shasta, Colema, Sonoma,	P. L. Solomon, J. Lancaster Brent, J. N. Dawley, S. W. Inge,	Sonora, Los Angeles, Nevada, San Francisco.
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Mr. McLane said: "I have been requested by the Committee of Arrangements to place in the hands of the Temporary Chairman of this Convention a list of the delegates elected. I have also been requested to state that two papers have been presented to that Committee by two different delegations from the State of New York. The gentlemen composing the Committee of Arrangements desire to communicate to the Convention that they have regarded all papers which on their face bear *prima facie* evidence of the regular election of the person presenting them, as entitling those persons to seats in this hall. They considered it their duty to issue tickets to all delegates who presented themselves with such *prima facie* evidence of election by the people. By this rule, when the State of Missouri presented itself the Committee issued tickets to those who presented this *prima facie* evidence that they were delegates elect. Another set, also claiming seats, presented themselves from the State of Missouri; but as in the opinion of the committee they did not present the necessary *prima facie* evidence of election, tickets were refused to them. The same governed in the case of New York, as in that of others bearing *prima facie* evidence of election. The New York delegations could not but be regarded as in the same position as the delegations from other States which presented the names of more than two delegates for each electoral vote. The same thing was, therefore, required of New York as was required of the Mississippi delegation—that the delegation should select the proper number to take seats on this floor. Mississippi complied with that requirement.

There are now here the proper number of delegates to occupy the seats assigned to Mississippi, though there are in the city over sixty members elected delegates from that State.

A Member—Eighty.

It was the pleasure of the delegations from New York to intimate that such an arrangement would not be altogether satisfactory, though the committee does not understand that the arrangement was peremptorily declined. I am requested by the committee to state it would with great pleasure have given tickets to the whole of the one hundred and forty delegates presenting themselves from the State of New York, if the committee could in any way have selected seventy members to occupy the seats assigned to New York. I desire only to say in conclusion, from the Committee of Arrangements, that both sets of delegates from New York are without, and demand admission to this hall. (Applause).

Samuel Medary was then escorted to the chair, amid much applause; and addressed the Convention in the following terms:

I can only return thanks to the Convention for the temporary honor it has conferred upon me by selecting me to preside over its preliminary deliberations. All that I can offer in return for the honor of the position in which you have placed me, will be to the best of my ability, to preserve that order which is so necessary on such occasions. While I am not a new visitor to conventions of this kind, I am yet new to the position in which your kindness has placed me. I have been a delegate to National Conventions, when the Republic extended but little

beyond the city in which we are now assembled, I was a delegate to the first Convention that nominated General Jackson for the Presidency. I was then, as now, one of the representatives of the Democratic party of the nation. It is now a grand party, grasping in its arms the shores of the two oceans of the world. In this Convention delegates are present from the Atlantic slope and the shores of the wide Pacific—thus manifesting in an unmistakable form, the progress of Democratic institutions and constitutional government. These are the institutions and this the government which it is our mission to defend and maintain. I repeat, that as long as we are governed by written constitutions and written laws, we should observe that deportment both personal and political, which will justify the expectation that we are capable of self-government. It is true that in governments like ours, we may expect temporary ebullitions of popular excitement. Like the great ocean, they cannot always be still. There cannot be a perpetual calm. We may sometimes expect the storms which purify the atmosphere.

Gentlemen, I will not detain you. I can only say that my highest purpose in accepting this unexpected promotion, is to perform the duties which it imposes on me, faithfully and impartially to all.

And now, while there is a brief silence and calm, allow me gentlemen, to introduce the Reverend Mr. Nicholson, who will address the Throne of Grace in behalf of the Convention.

The Reverend Mr. Nicholson, of the Episcopal Church, offered up the following

PRAYER;

O Eternal God, we, Thy helpless creatures, desire to make our supplications unto Thee. Thou art glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders. While Thy tender mercies are over all Thy works, Thou art of purer eyes than to behold iniquity, and Thou puttest away the wicked like dross. The very heavens, we are assured, are not clean in Thy sight. Wherewith, then, shall we come before the Lord, and bow ourselves before the High God? For we have erred and strayed from Thy ways like lost sheep. We have followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts. We have offended against Thy holy laws. We have left undone those things which we ought to have done, and we have done those things which we ought not to have done, and there is no health in us. But oh! what infinite love Thou hast manifested towards us! for Thou hast revealed to us the way of salvation through the death and sacrifice our Lord Jesus Christ, Thine Eternal Son; in whom whosoever believeth with the heart shall not die eternally. Oh, Lord God, for the sake of Thine only Son, have mercy upon us, miserable offenders. Spare Thou those who confess their faults. Restore Thou those who are penitent, according to Thy promises declared unto mankind in Christ Jesus our Lord. And grant, most merciful Father, that hereafter we may lead a holy, righteous and sober life, to the glory of thy holy name.

We approach Thee, O Lord God, at this time in an especial manner, as the universal Ruler of men and things. Thou conductest both in heaven and on earth after the counsel of Thine own will. Thou settest up one and Thou pullest down another. Thou art the Avenger of Thy truth on the nations that depart from Thy ways; while Thou art the Rewarder of all such as diligently seek Thee. O God, bless our beloved land! bless our beloved land! Let it not be said of us, Ah, sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil-doers, children that are corrupters; they have forsaken the Lord, they have provoked the Holy One to anger, they are all gone away backward. But let integrity, justice and the fear of God prevail in all our high places of authority. Rebuke,

throughout the land the daring spirit of infidelity insubordination, and of an excessive worldliness. Let truth and righteousness flow down all our streets, and the songs of the righteous be heard from all the habitations of the land.

Most gracious God, we humbly beseech Thee, as for the people of these United States in general, so especially for those who, having come from all parts of our country, are here in convention assembled, that Thou wouldst be pleased to direct and prosper all their consultations to the advancement of Thy glory, the good of Thy Church, the safety, honor and welfare of Thy people; that all things may be so ordered and settled by their endeavors, on the best and surest foundations; that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, may be established among us for all generations. To these representatives of the views and interests of so large a proportion of our fellow-citizens throughout the land, give a readiness of mind to follow the counsels of wisdom and experience; take from them all self-conceit, and shield their virtue from the assaults of the world, the flesh and the devil. These and all other necessities for them, for us and Thy whole Church, we humbly beg in the name and mediation of Jesus Christ, our most blessed Lord and Savior.

Almighty God, unto whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid, cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of Thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love Thee and worthily magnify Thy holy name, through Christ our Lord.

Direct us, O Lord, in all our doings, with Thy most gracious favor, and further us with Thy continual help, that in all our works begun, continued and ended in Thee, we may glorify Thy holy name, through Jesus Christ our Savior.

Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread; forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us; lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil, for Thine is the kingdom and the power, and the glory for ever and ever.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with us all evermore. Amen.

Mr. Brown of Mississippi, offered a resolution that seats be tendered to the delegates and alternates more than the several States are entitled to, and have allotted to them without the bar. He stated that there were vacant places within the Convention, and it was desirable that the delegates should have an opportunity of consulting their friends, and that all who came should participate in the great patriotic object for which they were assembled.

Mr. Thomas L. Harris, of Illinois, suggested that there would not be seats enough for them, and proposed to modify the motion so as to refer the selection of such as should have seats, to the Committee of Arrangements.

After some discussion, on motion, the resolution was for the present laid on the table.

Thomas L. Harris, of Illinois, then proposed that a Committee of Credentials, to be composed of a delegate from each State in which there is no disputed delegation, to be designated by the delegation, be appointed, whose duty it shall be to report to the Convention the delegates that present the proper credentials, and are entitled to take their seats in this body. Adopted.

The several delegations then gave in the following names for the Committee on Credentials :

Benjamin Wiggin, of *Maine*,
John H. George, of *New Hampshire*,
Bradley Barlow, of *Vermont*,
James S. Whitney, of *Massachusetts*,
G. S. Cannon, of *New Jersey*,
Edward A. Phelps, of *Connecticut*,
R. R. Heath, of *North Carolina*,
Wm. Acklin, of *Alabama*,
J. Lancaster Brent, of *California*,
G. F. Neal, of *Mississippi*,
G. M. Bryan, of *Texas*,
F. H. Hatch, of *Louisiana*,
James B. Stedman, *Ohio*,
John W. Stevenson, of *Kentucky*,
James H. Thomas, of *Tennessee*,

H. B. Wright, of *Pennsylvania*,
James A. Bayard, of *Delaware*,
Otho Scott, of *Maryland*,
Henry J. Burroughs of *Rhode Island*,
M. R. H. Garnett, of *Virginia*,
Samuel W. Telford, of *Indiana*,
Calvert Caldwell, of *Arkansas*,
Albert W. Lamb, of *Missouri*,
James Gardiner, of *Georgia*,
Franklin J. Moses, of *South Carolina*,
Thomas L. Harris, of *Illinois*,
William Hale, of *Michigan*,
David L. Yulee, of *Florida*,
Bernhardt Henn, of *Iowa*,
Paul Juneau, of *Wisconsin*,

Immediately after the election of President *pro tem*, a number of persons without tickets of admission. had thrust aside the door-keeper and rushed into the hall, claiming that they were delegates from Missouri. They had taken possession of the vacant seats assigned to New York.

When the members to compose the Committee on Credentials were announced, one of those claimants from Missouri arose and said that he had not heard Missouri called.

Mr. Richardson, of Illinois, said : Mr. President, I have no desire to interfere in the affairs of another State, but I must maintain, sir, that this Convention owes it to its dignity and self-respect that no person should be permitted to enter this hall, or take seats on this floor who has entered in defiance of the power of the door-keeper. I have no desire, sir, to enter into a discussion of the matter, but I declare it as my sentiment and opinion that this Convention owes it to itself, and to its dignity, to protect itself from insult.

The President—I would inform the gentlemen from Missouri, with all kindness, but with all determination, that according to the rules of the Convention, seats have been provided for the delegations from each State, and that only such as have tickets from the Committee of Arrangements are admitted to seats on this floor. The delegates having tickets have quietly and peaceably taken their seats. The temporary chairman cannot recognize any gentleman who is not entitled to a seat under these rules.

The claimant from Missouri—Mr. President—

[Cries of "Order ! order !"]

The President—Let me say a few words, and if I am out of order some one will doubtless correct me. I hope the claimants that have gained admission to the Convention, from Missouri, without tickets, will listen to the voice of an individual who certainly has no wish to injure them or prejudge their case. These gentlemen must apply to the Committee on Arrangements. That is the only application they can make as the Convention is at present organized. I hope they will abide by this rule.

The Missouri claimant—The delegation from Missouri cheerfully bows to the decision of the Convention. And the whole contesting delegation arose and retired from the Convention.

Mr. Bocock, of Virginia, called attention to the terms of the resolution offered by Mr. Harris, whereupon the Missouri delegation to whom seats had been given, withdrew the name of Mr. Lamb, as a member of the Committee on Credentials, until the Convention should pass upon the contested seats from that State.

C. A. Wickliff, of Kentucky, renewed the resolution, similar to that offered by Mr. Brown, of Mississippi, to allow alternates seats in the body.

After some discussion said resolution was withdrawn.

Mr. Stedman, from Ohio, presented an invitation from the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association, tendering the use of their hall and library to the delegates of the convention.

Mr. McCook, of Ohio, offered the following resolution :

Resolved That a committee of one from each State be selected by the respective delegations, and whose duty it shall be to select permanent officers of the Convention. Adopted.

The respective delegations announced the members to act as said Committee as follows :

Maine, J. C. Talbot, jr.
 New Hampshire, H. B. Rust.
 Vermont, Robert Harvey,
 Georgia, Alfred H. Holford.
 Massachusetts, Isaac Davis.
 Alabama, John Forsyth.
 Rhode Island, A. S. Gallup,
 Mississippi, E. Barksdale,
 Connecticut, P. C. Childs,
 New Jersey, Charles Fink,
 Pennsylvania, John L. Dawson,
 Delaware, Dr. C. Caldwell,
 Louisiana, P. A. Moise,
 Ohio, G. V. Dorsey,
 Kentucky, B. L. Clarke,

Tennessee, J. K. Walker,
 Maryland, James M. Buchanan,
 Virginia, Paulus Powell,
 North Carolina, James B. Gordon,
 South Carolina, Charles McBeth,
 Indiana, P. M. Kent,
 Illinois, T. R. Young,
 Missouri, John S. Phelps,
 Arkansas, R. M. Glines,
 Michigan, J. G. Thurber,
 Florida, Charles E. Dyke,
 Texas, R. P. Hubbard,
 Iowa, James C. Ramsey,
 Wisconsin, Wm. J. Gibson,
 California, P. C. Rust.

Mr. McCook, of Ohio, offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the Committee on Organization be instructed to report rules for the Government of this Convention; and that in the meantime the rules of the last Convention be the rules of this body. Adopted.

Mr. Hallett, of Massachusetts, offered the following :

Resolved, That a Committee, of one delegate from each State, to be selected by the delegation thereof, be appointed to report resolutions, and that all resolutions in relation to the Platform of the Democratic Party, be referred to said Committee, on presentation, without debate.

Mr. Bayard, of Delaware, moved to lay the resolution on the table. Carried.

Mr. Butler of Mass., demanded that the vote to lay the resolution, offered by him, on the table, be taken by States, and the States voted as follows :

YEAS.—Connecticut, 6 ; New Jersey, 7 ; Pennsylvania, 27 ; Delaware, 3 ; Maryland, 8 ; South Carolina, 8 ; Mississippi, 7 ; Arkansas, 4 ; Michigan, 6 ; Texas, 4 ; Iowa, 4 ; Wisconsin, 5. Total, 84.

NAYS.—Maine, 8 ; New Hampshire, 5 ; Vermont, 5 ; Massachusetts, 13 ; Rhode Island, 3 ; Virginia, 15 ; North Carolina, 10 ; Georgia, 10 ; Alabama, 9 ; Louisiana, 6 ; Ohio, 23 ; Kentucky, 12 ; Tennessee, 12 ; Indiana, 13 ; Illinois, 11 ; Missouri, 9 ; Florida, 3 ; California, 4. Total, 177.

The chair decided the motion to lay on the table lost. On motion the resolution was then adopted, and the following delegates were selected for the Committee on Resolutions :

Maine, A. G. Chandler,
New Hampshire, B. F. Ayer,
Vermont, Charles G. Eastman,
Massachusetts, Benjamin F. Hallett,
Delaware, W. Salisbury,
Maryland, C. J. M. Gwinn,
Virginia, A. A. Chapman,
North Carolina, W. S. Ashe,
South Carolina, C. W. Dudley,
Georgia, A. R. Wright,
Alabama, John Cochran,
Mississippi, Jacob Thompson,
Louisiana, Pierre Soule,
Ohio, C. L. Vallandigham,
Kentucky, B. Magoffin,

Rhode Island, Wm. B. Lawrence,
Connecticut, A. B. Hyde,
New Jersey, E. R. V. Wright,
Pennsylvania, J. G. Jones,
Tennessee, W. A. Quarles,
Indiana, J. L. Robinson,
Illinois, O. B. Ficklin,
Missouri, Thomas B. Hudson,
Arkansas, John Hunt,
Michigan, W. F. Story,
Florida, S. St. George Rodgers,
Texas, H. P. Bee,
Iowa, Thomas S. Wilson,
Wisconsin, S. Clarke,
California, S. W. Inge.

Mr. Black, of Pennsylvania, moved to reserve the front seats in the galleries for the use of the ladies.

On motion of Mr. Pettit, the motion was laid on the table.

And then the Convention adjourned until ten o'clock, A. M., to-morrow.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDING.

CINCINNATI, June 3, 1856.

The Convention was called to order precisely at ten o'clock, by the *pro tem.* President, Samuel Medary. Excellent order prevailed at the opening of the session, and the temper of the members appeared calm and sedate.

The President—The first thing in order will be the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization. If ready to report, the Convention will now receive it.

J. L. Dawson, of Pennsylvania—The Committee appointed to recommend suitable persons for permanent officers of this Convention, respectfully report the following :

FOR PRESIDENT OF THE CONVENTION,

HON. JOHN E. WARD, of Georgia.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENTS,

Jonathan Smith, of <i>Maine</i> ,	Wm. L. Balfour, <i>Mississippi</i> .
Charles L. Woodbury, <i>New Hampshire</i> .	Alex. Mouton, <i>Louisiana</i> .
Jefferson P. Kidder, <i>Vermont</i> .	George W. Belden, <i>Ohio</i> .
Henry H. Childs, <i>Massachusetts</i> .	Levi Tyler, <i>Kentucky</i> .
Peleg W. Gardner, <i>Rhode Island</i> .	Thomas C. Lyon, <i>Tennessee</i> .
James T. Pratt, <i>Connecticut</i> .	William Rockhill, <i>Indiana</i> .
John S. Darsey, <i>New Jersey</i> .	Joel A. Mattison, <i>Illinois</i> .
Arnold Plummer, <i>Pennsylvania</i> .	John S. Roame, <i>Arkansas</i> .
Wm. H. Ross, <i>Delaware</i> .	M. E. Crofoot, <i>Michigan</i> .
C. Humphries, <i>Maryland</i> .	J. T. Maybee, <i>Florida</i> .
Robert A. Banks, <i>Virginia</i> .	Matthew Ward, <i>Texas</i> .
Bedford Brown, <i>North Carolina</i> .	P. H. McBride, <i>Missouri</i> .
B. H. Brown, <i>South Carolina</i> .	C. J. McFarland, <i>Iowa</i> .
Dr. John W. Lewis, <i>Georgia</i> .	Nelson Dewey, <i>Wisconsin</i> .
David Hubbard, <i>Alabama</i> .	J. H. Hill, <i>California</i> .

FOR SECRETARIES.

Wm. K. Kimball, <i>Maine</i> .	W. P. Snow, <i>Maryland</i> .
H. Kimball, <i>New Hampshire</i> .	Wm. F. Ritchie, <i>Virginia</i> .
Isaac B. Bowditch, <i>Vermont</i> .	H. G. Williams, <i>North Carolina</i> .
J. C. Abbott, <i>Massachusetts</i> .	B. H. Wilson, <i>South Carolina</i> .
Wm. J. Miller, <i>Rhode Island</i> .	H. Buchanan, <i>Georgia</i> .
Wm. D. Bishop, <i>Connecticut</i> .	Julius Hesse, <i>Alabama</i> .
Wm. Hanna, <i>New Jersey</i> .	A. Derbis, <i>Louisiana</i> .
John N. Hutchison, <i>Pennsylvania</i> .	W. W. H. Dixon, <i>Mississippi</i> .
Amos Layman, <i>Ohio</i> .	C. C. Chatfield, <i>Michigan</i> .
Samuel Williams, <i>Kentucky</i> .	J. R. Brooks, <i>Florida</i> .
Jacob Miller, <i>Tennessee</i> .	W. C. Pollock, <i>Texas</i> .
James Elder, <i>Indiana</i> .	A. T. Walling, <i>Iowa</i> .
O. H. Lamphier, <i>Illinois</i> .	A. T. Gray, <i>Wisconsin</i> .
Daniel D. Berry, <i>Missouri</i> .	J. N. Dawley, <i>California</i> .
R. E. Jackson, <i>Arkansas</i> .	

The Committee further recommends that the rules and regulations adopted by the National Democratic Convention in 1852, be adopted by this Convention for its government.

JOHN L. DAWSON, *Chairman*.

J. KNOX WALKER, *Secretary*.

On motion of Mr. Bordan, of Indiana, the report was unanimously adopted.

The Chair then appointed Mr. Dawson, of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Yulee, of Florida, to conduct the President elect to the chair.

Before taking his seat, the President addressed the Convention as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention: The summons to preside over your deliberations is as unexpected as it is grateful to me. The distinguished gentleman who yesterday presided, the connecting link between the past and the present, carried us back to that period in our history when the Democratic party assembled to give into the hands of its favorite son, its standard to go forth to battle against a noble and gallant party. That party, with the issues which then divided us, have passed away. Many of its leaders, one by one, have

stolen to their silent resting place, filled with years and honors, mourned by political friends and political foes.

"How sleep the brave, who sink to rest
With all their countries' honors blest,
When Spring, with dewey fingers cold,
Returns to deck their hallowed mold,
She there shall find a sweeter sod
Than Fancy's feet have ever trod.
There Honor comes, a pilgrim gray,
To deck the mold that wraps their clay;
And Freedom for a while repair
To dwell a weeping hermit there."

Many of that noble party who still survive are with us to-day. They are with us in our deliberations, and they are prepared to go forth with us to battle in behalf of the Constitution and the Union. Why, why, then, gentlemen of the Convention, with this party passed away, and these issues settled, why are we environed with difficulties, and surrounded with dangers before unknown? Our land is convulsed with factions. The one, recreant to the Constitution, would build a wall around our country, and give a home to the exile who seeks our shores, only on condition that he renounce all the privileges which are dear to freemen; a party which, in the pride of power, assumes to dictate to the consciences of men, and which would allow no man to be fit to serve his country who bowed not with them at the same altar.

The other faction—more dangerous only because it is more numerous—has liberty emblazoned on its banners and deadly treason festering in its heart. It is engaged in an unholy crusade against the Constitution, which has so long maintained its hold on the affections of the people, in the fond hope that they may involve in one common ruin all the glorious recollections of the past, and all our proud anticipations of the future. Insignificant and contemptible in itself, it is formidable only for its tendency to unite with all other factions in their opposition to a party which makes no concessions, courts no alliances, asks no affiliations.

From the shores of the Pacific, from the mountains of the North, from the plains of the South, from the valleys of the West, delegates have come up to-day to present a platform and to select a standard bearer in the great contest against these factions. Uniting as a band of brothers around the altar of our common country, let us lay upon that altar, as a willing sacrifice, our personal aspirations, our sectional prejudices, and above and beyond all, our private friendships.

With an abiding confidence that the kindness which has summoned me to this place, will sustain me in the performance of its duties, and will generously pardon my errors, I assume the trust committed to me.

The Vice Presidents and Secretaries were then invited to take seats on the stand.

Mr. J. A. Bayard, of Delaware, submitted the following :

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Your Committee proceeded yesterday, after the adjournment of the Convention, in the performance of the duty assigned to them, and find that all the States of the Union, except the State of New York, are represented in the Convention by delegates duly elected in the several States, by State or District organizations of the Democratic party, and they append to this report, as part thereof, full lists of the delegates so elected.

There were contesting claimants of the seats held by the delegation

from Missouri, who claim to be admitted either in part or in whole as delegates from the same State.

The following gentlemen, claiming to be the regular delegation from the Democracy of Missouri, had, on *prima facie* evidence, been assigned seats in the Convention by the Committee of Arrangements viz :

Wm. A. Harris, E. D. Bevitt, James S. Green, A. W. Lamb, P. H. McBride, Wm. Shields, R. H. Stephens, S. R. Shrader, John S. McCracken, Thos. B. English, Joseph Coffman, Thomas B. Hudson, D. D. Berry, Fred. Kennett, Dr. W. Watson, James Craig, John S. Phelps, and were represented before the committee by Messrs. Green and Phelps.

The contesting parties who claimed seats were B. Gratz Brown, Barton Able, P. J. McSherry, Stephen Rice, S. J. Lowe, Jacob Hall, Logan Clarke, John M. Richardson, A. McCoy, John D. Stevenson, Thomas L. Price, John C. Walker, Patrick H. Davis, Madison Miller, P. Harney, J. S. Foy, George Smith and Samuel Simmons, and were represented before the committee by Messrs. Price and Brown.

The committee deem it unnecessary to recapitulate the arguments and statement of facts of either side, and confine themselves to the conclusion to which they have arrived.

After hearing fully the representatives of each contesting delegation, the following resolution was *unanimously* adopted :

Resolved, That the Democratic delegates from the State of Missouri, represented before the Committee by Messrs. Green and Phelps, are the duly elected delegates of the Democracy of Missouri, and are entitled to their seats in the National Convention, to the exclusion of the contesting claimants, represented by Messrs. Price and Brown.

The length of time occupied in hearing the parties to the contested seats in Missouri has prevented any hearing of the two sets of delegates from New York, who claim respectively to represent the Democracy of New York, but that hearing has been commenced this morning, and will be concluded as speedily as justice to the parties will permit, and be made the subject of a further report.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

June 3, 1856.

J. A. BAYARD, *Chairman*.

On motion of Mr. C. T. McFarland of Iowa, the report of the Committee was, amid great applause, *unanimously* concurred in, and the delegates from Missouri holding seats were declared entitled to the same, to the exclusion of their contestants.

Mr. Bayard asked, in behalf of the Committee on Credentials, that they be allowed to sit during the session of the Convention, which was granted.

Mr. Green, of Missouri, moved that the name of A. W. Lamb be now added to those of the Committee on Credentials. Adopted.

A delegate from Alabama moved a resolution to admit the delegates from the District of Columbia into the Convention, to participate in the deliberations and action of the Convention.

Mr. Twyman, of Kentucky, was opposed to the delegates from the District of Columbia, who had no votes for the Presidency, participating in the action of the Convention. He had no objection to their

admission, as lookers-on, in the hall. He moved to lay the resolution on the table.

Mr. Thomas L. Harris, of Illinois, endeavored to address the Convention on this question, but the Chair decided that he was not in order.

Mr. Harris said that he did not wish to discuss the question; he merely wished to read a telegraphic despatch which he held in his hand, announcing that the Democracy of the District of Columbia had carried the election in Washington by a handsome majority. (Great applause and hurrahs.)

The motion to lay upon the table the resolutions admitting the delegates from the District of Columbia, was then put and adopted by a large majority.

Mr. Brown, of Mississippi, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the seats in the galleries of this hall be declared vacant, and that the National Democratic Convention divide them, *pro rata*, among the States and Territories, and issue tickets accordingly and deliver them to the delegations from the several States; *Provided*, that no more persons be admitted than can be conveniently and safely accommodated.

Mr. Mickle of New Jersey offered the following amendment:

Resolved, That the galleries on the right of the President be appropriated exclusively for the use of the ladies, and gentlemen accompanying them.

Mr. Avery, of North Carolina, moved to lay the resolution and amendment on the table. The votes by States being called for, resulted as follows:

YEAS.—Massachusetts, 13; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 6; New Jersey, 7; Pennsylvania, 21; Delaware, 3; North Carolina, 10; South Carolina, 8; Georgia, 6; Louisiana, 6; Ohio, 12; Tennessee, 12; Indiana, 13; Illinois, 11; Arkansas, 4; Michigan, 6; Texas, 4; Iowa, 4; Wisconsin, 5; California, 4. Total, 159.

NAYS.—Maine, 8; New Hampshire, 5; Vermont, 5; Pennsylvania, 6; Maryland, 8; Virginia, 15; Georgia, 4; Alabama, 9; Mississippi, 7; Ohio, 12; Kentucky, 12; Missouri, 9; Florida, 3. Total, 103.

And the resolution and amendment were laid on the table.

Mr. Meade, of Virginia, moved that a ticket of admission be issued to Mr. D. B. Layne, a delegate to the Convention, whose ticket had been lost. Adopted.

Judge Mason, of Maryland, offered the following resolution:

Resolved. That the galleries be cleared, and that the Committee on Organization be instructed to issue three tickets to each delegate of the Convention, for distribution.

Mr. Mason modified the resolution by inserting one instead of three.

Mr. Hubbard, of Iowa, moved to lay the resolution on the table. A call by States being made, resulted as follows:

YEAS.—New Hampshire, 5; Massachusetts, 13, Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 6; New Jersey, 7; Pennsylvania, 27, Delaware, 3; North Carolina, 11; South Carolina, 8; Georgia, 6; Louisiana, 6; Illinois, 11; Missouri, 9; Michigan, 6; Texas, 4; Iowa, 4; Wisconsin, 2; California, 4. Total, 136.

NAYS.—Maine, 8; Vermont, 5; Maryland, 8; Virginia, 15, Georgia, 4; Alabama, 9; Mississippi, 7; Ohio, 24; Kentucky, 12; Tennessee, 12; Indiana, 13; Arkansas, 4; Florida, 3; Wisconsin, 2. Total, 126.

And the resolution was laid on the table.

Mr. Singleton, of Mississippi, offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the galleries of this hall be declared free to all spectators.

Mr. Wilson, of Iowa, offered the following amendment : That the question of admission of persons to seats in the galleries, be referred to the Committee on Organization, with directions to adopt some equal and just plan for the admission of persons from the several States ; and that said Committee report to the Convention as early as practicable.

On motion the resolution and amendment were laid on the table.

Mr. Moore, of Maine offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the Committee of Arrangements be instructed to issue no more tickets of admission to this hall, without the special order of this Convention.

Mr. Pettit, of Indiana, moved that the galleries be cleared, which motion was lost.

Mr. Vallandigham, of Ohio, moved to refer the resolution of Mr. Moore, of Maine, and all other resolutions on the subject, to the Committee of Arrangements.

Mr. McMullen, of Virginia, moved to lay the resolution on the table. Carried.

Mr. Thompson, of Mississippi, offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the Committee on Arrangements be instructed to admit Mr. J. W. McDonald to his seat as reporter from Mississippi. Adopted.

After several motions to amend, and considerable debate with reference to the galleries,

Mr. McLane, of Maryland, said—Gentlemen of the Convention, I desire to say, on behalf of the Committee of Arrangements, that in this hall it is absolutely impossible to seat a number of persons greater than the number that has been provided for. I will state further, that it was not the design of the Committee originally to apply the galleries to the use of the press. It was designed to seat the reporters for the various newspapers on the platform on each side of the President. That was the arrangement made for the press. If gentlemen will look at the platform and consider that, in the plan of organization now adopted, room must be made for three Vice-Presidents, and thirty-one Secretaries, they will see that the press had as large a space as possible devoted to their use. I would remark that over three hundred applications were made for tickets by gentlemen, under the style of reporters for the press. In very few cases was it believed that these were efficient reporters of the proceedings of this Convention. In very few cases did they profess to be so. They simply professed to be attached to corps of reporters. The Committee of Arrangements, of which I am not a member, but which I have been requested to represent on this floor, deemed it proper that these gentlemen should be admitted as

reporters, and have seats in the galleries as such. The Committee did not think it ought to take the responsibility of saying to these gentlemen who professed to be reporters of the press, that they could not have seats when there was a place for them. But they understood very well that it was the right of the Convention when organized to appropriate the galleries to its own use. It is idle to suppose that the Convention has no such right. But it is the misfortune of this Convention that there is no hall in the city of Cincinnati suitable for its accommodation.

With these views I have suggested to the honorable member from Mississippi, and to the Convention, that this resolution be withdrawn, and that the Committee of Arrangements be instructed to issue new tickets for the galleries, under the direction of the President. The present gallery tickets will be cancelled after to-day. This suggestion was adopted, and the Committee so instructed.

D. C. Buel, of California, moved that the Convention appoint one Sergeant-at-Arms, and two deputies, for the Convention.

Dr. Cottman, of Louisiana, suggested that the Committee of Arrangements appoint these officers.

Some one else proposed that the President make these appointments. Adopted.

Mr. McMullen, of Virginia, moved that the Convention, when it adjourns, adjourn to to-morrow at 10 o'clock, A. M. Adopted.

A letter of invitation to use their hall, was read from the Young Men's Democratic Association; also, a letter from the Horticultural Society of Ohio, inviting the members to attend their exhibition on Elm street, on Thursday next.

Judge Clitherall, of Alabama, moved a resolution that each delegate, when addressing the Convention, should proceed to the stand and address the body from that place. Rejected.

On motion of Hon. J. L. Dawson, of Penn., the Convention took a recess until four o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

At 4 o'clock the President called the Convention to order.

Hilliard Salisbury, of Delaware—Mr. President, I desire to state that, as I am informed, there are now in Cincinnati fifteen or twenty members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, who have come here with the expectation of witnessing, or participating in this Convention, I offer this resolution:

Resolved, That the Democratic members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, who may be in Cincinnati during the session of the Convention, are invited to take seats on the platform and floor of the Convention.

Mr. Chapman, of Alabama—I move to amend, by inviting the members of the different State Legislatures who may be now in the city.

After some debate, Mr. Avery of N. C., said—As this Convention has no time to send out and collect the balance of mankind, I move to lay the resolution and amendments on the table.

The motion to lay them on the table was carried.

Mr. Petit, of Indiana—I desire to inquire, for I have been informally informed that such is the case, whether the Committee on Resolutions is ready to report. If they are ready I desire to move that they be permitted to report.

Mr. Wilson—The Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, is absent from his seat, and, therefore, cannot answer. I am informed, however, that the Committee will not be prepared to report till to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

Mr. P. C. Child of Connecticut, said—Mr. President, I wish members of this honorable body, assembled from all sections of the country, to set apart a short period for communing with each other, and telling each other their experience in the Democratic church. Certainly, the time not devoted to the business which has called us hither, could not be more usefully or profitably employed. I stand here, sir, in this National Convention, composed of delegates from the democracy of every State of our glorious confederacy, a representative of the State of Connecticut—a representative from the county of Wyndham, more commonly called “Wolf Den” county, the county which was the residence of that ever-to-be-remembered hero who fought shoulder to shoulder with the patriots of North Carolina, and the patriots of South Carolina, in that revolutionary struggle by which was achieved the freedom we now enjoy. It will be remembered here, on this occasion, when we have again assembled in a spirit of harmony and fraternity, in the defense of a common cause, and the pursuit of a common object, that South Carolina was one of the immortal Thirteen. It will also be remembered Connecticut, the State which I have the honor to represent was also one of the immortal Thirteen. My object in introducing this resolution is for the purpose of allowing time for the different delegations from the various parts of this great Union, to compare notes with each other. I hope, as there is nothing else to occupy the time and attention of this body, that an opportunity will be presented for the accomplishment of this purpose, and for allowing members to tell their experience in the different States of the confederacy.”

Mr. Child's resolution was one of invitation to the delegates from the various States, to give their views on the present state of parties. The resolution was not acted on.

Mr. Phelps, of Missouri, proposed a resolution that the Committee on resolutions be authorized to have their report printed so that it could be laid before all the members, and made the order of the Convention to-morrow.

Mr. Hallett, of Massachusetts, stated that there would be one more meeting of the Committee, that the resolutions were nearly all agreed upon, and that steps had already been taken to have the resolutions printed, and that they would be reported to-morrow at 10 o'clock.

On motion of Mr. Petit, of Indiana, the Convention then adjourned till to-morrow, Wednesday, June 4, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

MORNING SESSION, JUNE 4, 1856.

At ten o'clock the Convention was called to order by the President, General Ward.

After waiting some time, Mr. Stewart, of Maryland, called the attention of the Convention to the necessity of transacting business in its regular order, and as speedily as possible. He supposed the report of the Committee on Resolutions was first in order, and if so, he would now call for it.

Mr. Hallett, (who had ascended the platform) said—He would state that the Committee is prepared to make its report as soon as the Convention is ready to receive it.

[Voices.—Now ! Now !]

The President.—The Convention must come to entire order before the Chairman will proceed to read the resolutions.

The Convention having come to order, Mr. Hallett said:

I have been instructed, as the Chairman of the Committee on resolutions, to report to this Convention the platform of resolutions which they have adopted. I am also instructed by the Committee to say that the portion of the resolutions which relates to Kansas and Nebraska, and those propositions concerning the administration of the General Government, have been adopted by the Committee with entire unanimity, every member from every State having signified his perfect acquiescence in these resolutions. There is another and very important class of resolutions, relating to the foreign policy of the country. While these resolutions have been recommended by the Committee as a portion of the platform, it is proper to state that they were not adopted with entire unanimity. I am also instructed to report a resolution, as recommended by the Committee, concerning communication between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.

With these explanations I shall proceed to read the resolutions:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

The Committee on Resolutions, by their Chairman, Mr. Hallett, of Massachusetts, submit the following Report:

Resolved, That the American Democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

Resolved, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world, as the great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will; and we contrast it with the creed and practice of Federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent, and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

Resolved, therefore, That, entertaining these views, the Democratic party of this Union, through their Delegates assembled in a general Convention, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and appealing to their fellow-citizens for the recti-

tude of their intentions, renew and re-assert before the American people, the declarations of principles avowed by them when, on former occasions in general Convention, they have presented their candidates for the popular suffrages.

1. That the Federal Government is one of limited power, derived solely from the Constitution; and the grants of power made therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government; and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

2. That the Constitution does not confer upon the General Government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

3. That the Constitution does not confer authority upon the Federal Government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States, contracted for local and internal improvements, or other State purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

4. That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of any other, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country; that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete an ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

5. That it is the duty of every branch of the Government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the Government, and for the gradual, but certain extinction of the public debt.

6. That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the Constitution; and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States, as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the Constitution.

7. That Congress has no power to charter a national bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and above the laws and the will of the people; and that the results of Democratic legislation in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country, have demonstrated to candid and practical men of all parties, their soundness, safety, and utility, in all business pursuits.

8. That the separation of the moneys of the Government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the Government, and the rights of the people.

9. That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

10. That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence; and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty, and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith, and every attempt to abridge the

privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us, ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the alien and sedition laws from our statute books.

And, WHEREAS, Since the foregoing declaration was uniformly adopted by our predecessors in National Conventions, an adverse political and religious test has been secretly organized by a party claiming to be exclusively American, it is proper that the American Democracy should clearly define its relation thereto, and declare its determined opposition to all secret political societies, by whatever name they may be called.

Resolved, That the foundation of this union of States having been laid in, and its prosperity, expansion, and pre-eminent example in free government, built upon entire freedom in matters of religious concernment, and no respect of person in regard to rank or place of birth; no party can justly be deemed national, constitutional, or in accordance with American principles, which bases its exclusive organization upon religious opinions and accidental birth-place. And hence a political crusade in the nineteenth century, and in the United States of America, against Catholic and foreign-born, is neither justified by the past history or the future prospects of the country, nor in unison with the spirit of toleration and enlarged freedom which peculiarly distinguishes the American system of popular government.

Resolved, That we reiterate with renewed energy of purpose, the well considered declarations of former Conventions upon the sectional issue of Domestic Slavery, and concerning the reserved rights of the States.

1. That Congress has no power under the Constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the abolitionists, or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

2. That the foregoing proposition covers, and was intended to embrace, the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress; and therefore, the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the Compromise measures, settled by the Congress of 1850; "the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor," included; which act being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed, or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

3. That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

4. That the Democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold, the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia Legislature, in 1799: that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

And that we may more distinctly meet the issue on which a sectional party, subsisting exclusively on slavery agitation, now relies to test the fidelity of the people, north and south, to the Constitution and the Union—

1. *Resolved*, That claiming fellowship with, and desiring the co-operation of all who regard the preservation of the Union under the Constitution as the

paramount issue—and repudiating all sectional parties and platforms concerning domestic slavery, which seek to embroil the States and incite to treason and armed resistance to law in the Territories; and whose avowed purposes, if consummated, must end in civil war and disunion. The American Democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the "slavery question" upon which the great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservatism of the Union—NON-INTERFERENCE BY CONGRESS WITH SLAVERY IN STATE AND TERRITORY, OR IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

2. That this was the basis of the Compromises of 1850—confirmed by both the Democratic and Whig parties in national Conventions—ratified by the people in the election of 1852—and rightly applied to the organization of Territories in 1854.

3. That by the uniform application of this Democratic principle to the organization of territories, and to the admission of new States, with or without domestic slavery, as they may elect—the equal rights of all the States will be preserved intact—the original compacts of the Constitution maintained inviolate—and the perpetuity and expansion of this Union insured to its utmost capacity of embracing, in peace and harmony, every future American State that may be constituted or annexed, with a republican form of government.

Resolved, That we recognize the right of the people of all the Territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of a majority of actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it; to form a Constitution, with or without domestic slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States.

Resolved, finally, That in the view of the condition of popular institutions in the Old World (and the dangerous tendencies of sectional agitation, combined with the attempt to enforce civil and religious disabilities against the rights of acquiring and enjoying citizenship, in our own land)—a high and sacred duty is devolved with increased responsibility upon the Democratic party of this country, as the party of the Union, to uphold and maintain the rights of every State, and thereby the Union of the States; and to sustain and advance among us constitutional liberty, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few, at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the Constitution, which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be, in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

1. *Resolved*, That there are questions connected with the foreign policy of this country, which are inferior to no domestic question whatever. The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of free seas and progressive free trade throughout the world, and, by solemn manifestations, to place their moral influence at the side of their successful example.

2. *Resolved*, That our geographical and political position with reference to the other States of this continent, no less than the interest of our commerce and the development of our growing power, requires that we should hold as sacred the principles involved in the Monroe Doctrine: their bearing and import admit of no misconstruction; they should be applied with unbending rigidity.

3. *Resolved*, That the great highway which nature, as well as the assent of the States most immediately interested in its maintainance, has marked out

for a free communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans, constitutes one of the most important achievements realized by the spirit of modern times and the unconquerable energy of our people. That result should be secured by a timely and efficient exertion of the control which we have the right to claim over it, and no power on earth should be suffered to impede or clog its progress by any interference with the relations it may suit our policy to establish between our government and the Governments of the States within whose dominions it lies. We can, under no circumstance, surrender our preponderance in the adjustment of all questions arising out of it.

4. *Resolved*, That, in view of so commanding an interest, the people of the United States can not but sympathize with the efforts which are being made by the people of Central America to regenerate that portion of the continent which covers the passage across the Interoceanic Isthmus.

5. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party will expect of the next Administration that every proper effort be made to insure our ascendancy in the Gulf of Mexico, and to maintain a permanent protection to the great outlets through which are emptied into its waters the products raised out of the soil, and the commodities created by the industry of the people of our Western valleys, and of the Union at large.

B. F. HALLETT, *Chairman*.

The following is the resolution with respect to overland communication with the Pacific:

Resolved, That the Democratic party recognizes the great importance, in a political and commercial point of view, of a safe and speedy communication, by military and postal roads, through our own territory, between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of this Union, and that it is the duty of the Federal Government to exercise promptly all its constitutional power for the attainment of that object.

The reading of the resolutions on Know-Nothingism and the Kansas-Nebraska question was followed by long continued and enthusiastic applause; in which every delegation joined in the most earnest manner.

Mr. Hallett—I am instructed by the Committee to lay these resolutions before the Convention.

W. F. Packer, of Pennsylvania—I move that this report and resolutions be unanimously adopted, without the crossing of a *t* or the dotting of an *i*.

[Great applause.]

Mr. Conway, of Virginia—I move that there be a division of the question, and that the Convention first act upon the resolutions relating to the domestic policy of the Nation. There were delegates here, especially from the State which he in part represented, who were not prepared to adopt all these resolutions; and it would be necessary to divide the body on the resolutions.

B. F. Butler, of Massachusetts—As this report is the unanimous result of the labors of a committee composed of delegates from all the States, and I believe embodies principles which have obtained the acquiescence of all the Democrats in every part of our Union, I shall move the previous question.

M. R. H. Garnett, of Virginia—I rise to a point of order. A division of the question has been asked by my colleague, that takes precedence.

Mr. Garnett: Before such resolutions are forced upon us—before they are forced upon the Democracy of the Old Dominion, which has steadily opposed the doctrines embraced in one of them—that Old Dominion which has never faltered in defense of the Democratic faith—before you force such resolutions upon us, I ask for a division of the question.

Several members here arose and called to order, and insisted that there could be no debate pending a call for the previous question.

Mr. Hibbard, of New Hampshire, said that the call for a division of the main question, under the rules of the House of Representatives, was in order after the previous question was demanded and sustained, and that any one member was entitled to have the main question divided.

The President said that the previous question having been demanded, the question first in order was, shall the call for the previous question be sustained? Then, if it was sustained, the question should be, shall the main question be now put? And if that was decided in the affirmative, the gentleman from Virginia was entitled to have the main question divided.

Mr. Phelps, of Missouri—Mr. President, I desire to suggest that the right of a delegation from a State, which casts thirty-five votes upon this floor, to be admitted, has not been settled, and I would ask whether it is not premature to adopt the resolutions just read before New York is heard. I think it is, and I appeal to the gentleman from Massachusetts to withdraw the call for the previous question, that I may move to postpone the further consideration of this platform until the New York contested case is decided.

Mr. Butler refused to withdraw the call for the previous question.

Mr. Avery, of North Carolina, moved that the Convention should first consider the resolutions reported, and acted upon by the committee, disregarding the extra resolution relative to a public road.

The Chair, however, would not entertain the motion, but the previous question being seconded, was put to the body, and the body sustained it by a large majority. The order was that the Convention would now vote upon the resolution relating to the domestic policy of the country.

The call was for a vote by States.

The States were severally called, and each delegation unanimously voted aye in favor of the resolutions. The Virginia and Mississippi delegations alone retired to consult, but returned with their unanimous approval of the resolutions.

When the North Carolina vote was announced, Mr. Avery, who was the organ of the delegation, remarked, "North Carolina gives ten votes for the resolutions, and will give ten thousand in November." [Applause.]

When Alabama was called, Gov. Chapman cried out, "Alabama votes nine votes for the resolutions, and in November, as usual, she will roll up her fifteen thousand Democratic majority." [Cheers.]

When Kentucky was called, the Hon. C. A. Wickliffe announced that Kentucky gave her twelve votes for the resolutions, and all she could promise would be a majority in November next. [Loud applause.]

The President then announced that the several delegations had voted unanimously, to-wit : two hundred and sixty-one votes in favor of the resolutions reported by the committee relating to the domestic policy of the country.

Mr. Wickliffe—Before we are called on to vote on the remaining portions of the resolutions, I think we should have time from now till three o'clock, in order that in a pure air and a clear atmosphere we may look at them with some degree of deliberation, and appreciate the importance of our action in either accepting or rejecting them. I ask for my State a recess until 4 o'clock. Rejected.

Mr. Phelps, of Mo., moved to adjourn to 4 o'clock. Lost, ayes 78, nays 193.

Mr. Meade, of Virginia, moved a recess for one hour. If the vote was taken on the other resolutions without a recess, he should ask leave for the Virginia delegation to retire, to consult for at least that time. Lost.

Mr. Ingersoll, of Connecticut, demanded that under the division of the question, the remaining resolutions should be voted on separately.

The President said that a vote upon each would be so taken.

Mr. Meade, of Virginia, asked leave for the delegation to retire for the purpose of consultation as to their action upon the remaining resolutions.

Leave was given by the Convention ; and the same was requested for the like purpose by the delegations of Maryland and Missouri, which was acceded to.

On motion of Mr. Barksdale, of Mississippi, the Convention took a recess until two o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION—JUNE 4TH.

The Convention met at two o'clock, and was called to order by the President.

In conformity with the resolution empowering the President to appoint a Sergeant-at-arms and two assistants, the following appointments were made: principal Sergeant-at-arms, George W. Palmer; assistants, John R. Johnson and Stephen S. Ayres.

Mr. Hibbard, of New Hampshire, moved to reconsider the vote on the first part of the report of the Committee on Resolutions, and that said motion be laid on the table. The motion prevailed unanimously.

The Chair then proceeded to take the vote on the questions relative to foreign policy. The first resolution was as follows:

1. *Resolved*, That there are questions connected with the foreign policy of this country which are inferior to no domestic questions whatever. The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of free seas and progressive free trade throughout the world, and, by solemn manifestations, to place their moral influence at the side of their successful example.

The vote by States being called, the following States voted unanimously in the affirmative:

Maine 8, New Hampshire 5, Vermont 5, Massachusetts 13, New Jersey 7, Pennsylvania 27, Virginia 15, North Carolina 10, South Carolina 8, Louisiana 6, Ohio 23, Indiana 13, Illinois 11, Missouri 9, Arkansas 4, Michigan 6, Florida 3, Texas 4, Iowa 4, Wisconsin 5, Kentucky 12.

The following States divided: Connecticut—1 aye, 5 nays; Tennessee—11 ayes, 1 nay. The following States voted in the negative: Rhode Island 4, Delaware 3, Maryland 6, Georgia 10.

The Chair proclaimed the resolution adopted, by 230 ayes, 29 nays.

The second resolution, which is as follows, was then voted on by States:

2. *Resolved*, That our geographical and political position with reference to other States of this continent, no less than the interest of our commerce, and the development of our growing power, requires that we should hold as sacred the principles involved in the Monroe doctrine; their bearing and import admit of no misconception; they should be applied with unbending rigidity.

The following was the vote:

AYES—Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts 12, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia 6, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee 11, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Arkansas, Michigan, Florida, Texas, Iowa, Wisconsin, California—239.

NAYS—Massachusetts 1, Rhode Island 4, Delaware, Maryland, Georgia 4, Tennessee 1—21.

C. A. Wickliffe, of the Kentucky delegation, asked leave to change their vote on first resolution from the negative to the affirmative. Granted. [Applause.]

The Mississippi delegation asked leave to change their vote to the affirmative, which was granted. [Applause.]

The vote was then taken on the following resolution :

3. *Resolved*, That the great highway which nature, as well as the assent of the States most immediately interested in its maintenance, has marked out for free communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, constitutes one of the most important achievements realized by the spirit of modern times and the unconquerable energy of our people. That result should be secured by a timely and efficient exertion of the control which we have the right to claim over it, and no power on earth should be suffered to impede or clog its progress by any interference with the relations it may suit our policy to establish between our government and the governments of the States within whose dominions it lies. We can, under no circumstances surrender our preponderance in the adjustment of all questions arising out of it.

AYES—Maine 7, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts. Connecticut 4, New Jersey, 7, Pennsylvania 27, North Carolina 10, Georgia 10, Alabama 9, Mississippi 7, Tennessee 7, Indiana 13, Illinois 11, Missouri 9, Arkansas 4, Michigan 6, Florida 3, Texas 4, Iowa 4, Wisconsin 5, California 4, Louisiana 6, Ohio 23—180.

NAYS—Maine 1, Rhode Island 4, Connecticut 2, Delaware 3, Maryland 6, Virginia 15, South Carolina 8, Kentucky 12, Tennessee 5—56.

The vote by States was then taken on the following resolution :

Resolved, That in view of so commanding an interest, the people of the United States cannot but sympathize with the efforts which are being made by the people of Central America to regenerate that portion of the continent which covers the passage across the Interocceanic Isthmus.

AYES—Maine 8, New Hampshire 5, Vermont 5, Massachusetts 13, Connecticut 4, New Jersey 7, Pennsylvania 27, Virginia 15, North Carolina 9, Georgia 10, Alabama 9, Mississippi 7, Louisiana 6, Ohio 23, Tennessee 10, Indiana 13, Illinois 11, Missouri 9, Arkansas 4, Michigan 6, Florida 3, Texas 4, Iowa 4, Wisconsin 5, California 4—221.

NAYS—Rhode Island 4, Connecticut 2, Delaware 3, Maryland 6, North Carolina 1, South Carolina 8, Kentucky 12, Tennessee 2—38.

The vote was then taken by States, on the following resolution :

Resolved, That the Democratic party will expect of the next administration that every proper effort will be made to insure our ascendancy in the Gulf of Mexico, and to maintain a permanent protection to the great outlets through which are emptied into its waters the products raised out of the soil, and the commodities created by the industry of the people of our Western valleys and the Union at large.

AYES—Maine 7, New Hampshire 5, Vermont 5, Massachusetts 11, Connecticut 4, New Jersey 7, Pennsylvania 27, Virginia 15, North Carolina 9, Georgia 10, Alabama 9, Mississippi 7, Louisiana 6, Ohio 23, Kentucky 12, Tennessee 9, Indiana 13, Illinois 11, Missouri 9, Arkansas 4, Michigan 6, Florida 3, Texas 4, Iowa 4, Wisconsin 5, California 4—229.

NAYS—Maine 1, Massachusetts 2, Rhode Island 4, Connecticut 2, Delaware 4, Maryland 8, North Carolina 1, South Carolina 8, Tennessee 3—33.

The following resolution then coming up, H. Salisbury, of Delaware, moved to lay it on the table :

Resolved, That the Democratic party recognizes the great importance, in a political and commercial point of view, of a safe and speedy communication by military and postal roads, through our own territory, between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of this Union, and that it is the duty of the Federal Government to exercise promptly all its constitutional powers for the attainment of that object.

On this motion the vote was as follows :

AYES---Maine 1; New Hampshire 4, Massachusetts 17, Rhode Island 4, Connecticut 6, New Jersey 7, Pennsylvania 27, Delaware 3, Virginia 15, North Carolina 10, South Carolina 8, Georgia 6, Alabama (under protest of Judge Clitherall) 9, Mississippi 7, Ohio 16, Kentucky 8, Tennessee 3, Florida 3—154 yeas.

NAYS—Maine 7, New Hampshire 1, Vermont 5, Massachusetts 12, Maryland 6, Georgia 4, Louisiana 6, Ohio 6, Kentucky 4, Tennessee 9, Indiana 13, Illinois 11, Missouri 9, Arkansas 4, Michigan 6, Texas 4, Iowa 4, Wisconsin 5, California 4—120 nays.

So the resolution was laid on the table.

Mr. Colquitt, of Georgia, moved to reconsider the vote on the three last resolutions on the foreign policy of the Government, and G. W. Peck, of Michigan, moved to lay on the table the motion to reconsider.

On this motion the vote was as follows :

YEAS.—Maine, 8; New Hampshire, 5; Vermont, 5; Massachusetts, 5; New Jersey, 7; Pennsylvania, 27; Maryland, 1; North Carolina, 10; Mississippi, 7; Louisiana, 6; Ohio, 23; Tennessee, 10; Indiana, 13; Illinois, 11; Missouri, 9; Arkansas, 4; Michigan, 6; Florida, 3; Texas, 4; Iowa, 4; Wisconsin, 5; California, 4—171.

NAYS.—Massachusetts, 4; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 6; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 7; Virginia, 15; South Carolina, 8; Georgia, 9; Alabama, 9; Kentucky, 12; Tennessee, 2—79.

So the motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. Meade, of Virginia, offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the resolutions in regard to the foreign policy of this Government are the expressions of opinion of this Convention, and are not to be exacted as articles of party faith.

G. W. Peck, of Michigan, objected that this resolution could not be entertained, but must, under the rules, go to the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. Meade—after in vain asking to be heard on the resolution, the Chair deciding that the question could not be debated, but must go to the committee—moved that the rules be suspended.

A vote by States was called for and resulted as follows :

AYES.—Delaware, 3; Maryland, 7; Virginia, 15; South Carolina, 8; Kentucky, 12; Tennessee, 9; Missouri, 9; Arkansas, 4; Florida, 3; Texas, 4—74.

NAYS.—Maine, 8; New Hampshire, 5; Vermont, 5; Massachusetts, 13; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 6; New Jersey, 7; Pennsylvania, 27; Maryland, 1; North Carolina, 10; Georgia, 10;

Alabama, 9 ; Mississippi, 7 ; Louisiana, 6 ; Ohio, 23 ; Tennessee, 3 ; Indiana, 13 ; Illinois, 11 ; Michigan, 6 ; Iowa, 4 ; Wisconsin, 5 ; California, 4—171.

So the motion to suspend was lost, and the resolution was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. Lowe, of Maryland, sent to the Chair the following resolution, adopted by the Maryland Delegation, which he had been instructed to present, as explanatory of the vote of that State, and to ask that the same be spread on the records of the Convention. No objection being made, it was so ordered :

Resolved. That without expressing any opinion in regard to the principles involved in the last five resolutions of the proposed platform, we deem it inexpedient to adopt said resolutions as part of said platform, and that the Chairman of this Delegation be directed to cast its vote in the negative upon said resolution, and that he is further instructed at the proper time to request the reading of this resolution to the Convention, as the ground upon which the action of this Delegation is based.

Judge Borden, of Indiana, moved the following resolution :

Resolved, That a committee of one from each State, to be selected by the Delegates thereof, be appointed to report the names of persons to constitute the Democratic National Committee, and the mode of constituting and calling the next Democratic Convention. Adopted.

The following names were proposed under this resolution by the various delegations :

Maine, Dudley F. Leavitt.
New Hampshire, J. H. Smith.
Vermont, John Cain.
Massachusetts, Whiting Griswold.
Rhode Island, William J. Miller.
Connecticut, J. P. C. Mather.
New York,
New Jersey, John W. Mickle.
Pennsylvania, H. D. Foster.
Delaware, Henry Ridgely.
Maryland, E. Hamilton.
Virginia, Archibald Graham.
North Carolina, Burton Craige.
South Carolina, B. H. Wilson.
Georgia, John H. W. Underwood.
Alabama, James R. Powell.

Mississippi, O. R. Singleton.
Louisiana, W. W. Pugh.
Ohio, Wm. Lawrence.
Kentucky, T. C. McCreery.
Tennessee, T. M. Jones.
Indiana, G. T. Cookerly.
Illinois, W. Cockle.
Missouri, William Watson.
Arkansas, Jordan N. Embree.
Michigan, A. E. Campbell.
Florida, C. E. Dyke.
Texas, William Fields.
Iowa, D. H. Solomons.
Wisconsin, M. J. Thomas.
California, D. E. Buel.

A delegate, calling attention to the quantity of work already done, and that the Committee on Credentials not being ready to report on the New York controversy, moved that the Convention adjourn.

Mr. Hibbard, of Texas, was enforcing the necessity of having a full vote on the great question of selecting the Presidency, when he was interrupted by Mr. Petit, of Indiana, who said :

Mr. President—If the New Yorkers are not ready to come into the Convention and participate with us in its labors, there are other States that are ready, and I move that we proceed to vote for the candidate for the Presidency and Vice Presidency.

Mr. Hibbard resumed—The motion is to proceed to vote for a candidate for President and Vice President. In the Baltimore Convention of 1852, when there were contested votes from New York and Georgia, the Convention decided that it would not proceed to the nomination of a candidate for the Presidency, until the contested elections were determined. New York sends two sets of delegates, whose claims are under consideration by the Committee on Credentials. Whatever may be the decision, at least one of the delegations will be entitled to a seat, and perhaps both. New York has a right to be heard on the momentous question of the nomination of a candidate for the Presidency. We thought that there was sufficient soundness in the Democracy of New York to recognize the platform adopted by the Convention without the formality of their voting. But on the nomination of the candidates we have no right to deny them a hearing. I trust that the gentleman will withdraw his motion.

Mr. Petit withdrew his motion.

H. Salisbury, of Delaware—Sir, we have done more to-day than has generally been done by Democratic Conventions. We have gone, in the adoption of our resolutions, beyond the precedents of previous Conventions. It would be wise for us not to proceed further and too rapidly, but to act calmly and discreetly; and he was therefore in favor of adjourning to hear the Committee on Credentials.

H. B. Wright, of Pennsylvania, said he was one of the Committee on Credentials, and the committee had been much engaged in hearing the parties in the contested case of New York, but that it would be prepared to make a report on to-morrow at two o'clock.

Mr. Wilson, of Iowa, was in favor of adjourning, but he added that he was against waiting any longer on those gentlemen who could not settle their quarrels at home. He would not wait a day longer for them than to-morrow. If they were not prepared to come into the Convention and arrange their difficulties after a reasonable time he hoped that the other States would proceed to perform their duty, and discharge the trust for which they were sent here.

The vote to adjourn to to-morrow 10 o'clock, A. M.. was then taken and carried.

FOURTH DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

MORNING SESSION, June 5th, 1856.

At 10 o'clock the President called the Convention to order.

Mr. J. W. Stevenson, of Kentucky, after some preliminary remarks, offered, on the part of a majority of the Committee on Credentials, the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it is the duty of the entire Democracy of New York to unite; and, as a beginning of that union, that the two delegations from that State be now consolidated.

Resolved, That that portion of the Democracy of New York represented by the delegation, of which the Hon. Horatio Seymour is chairman, are entitled, on the score of numbers, to forty-four delegates, and that portion of the Democracy represented by the delegations, of which the Hon. Samuel Beardsley is Chairman, is entitled on the score of numbers to twenty-six delegates in the Convention, and that said delegation be admitted in proportion aforesaid to seats in the Convention, the persons so to be admitted to be designated by the respective delegations, and that, in counting the vote of the State of New York in the Convention, the minority shall not be subject to the majority without their consent.

Resolved, That the delegation from New York, when admitted, be permitted to record their votes upon the resolutions adopted yesterday by the Convention.

Mr. James A. Bayard, on behalf of the minority of the Committee on Credentials, offered the following resolution as a substitute for those presented by Mr. Stevenson:

Resolved, That the two delegations from New York be authorized to select each thirty-five delegates, and that the seventy delegates thus selected be admitted as the delegation of the two sections of the New York Democracy to this Convention, and that they be allowed one hour to report their selections. The two delegations to vote separately, each to be entitled to seventeen votes, the remaining vote of this State to be cast alternately by the two delegations, the Softs casting it the first time.

Mr. Butler, of Massachusetts, moved the adoption of the majority resolutions and called for the previous question.

At the request of Mr. Richardson, said motion was withdrawn.

Mr. McLane, of Maryland, rose to a point of order, and submitted that the gentleman from Massachusetts had not the power to demand the previous question upon the majority resolutions. The resolution of Mr. Bayard, of Delaware, being an amendment, the vote on that must be first taken.

Mr. Meade, of Virginia, concurred in this view and he had before risen to say so. As the resolution of Mr. Bayard would be first voted upon, he would move the previous question.

The Convention sustained the call for the previous question, and the President decided that the main question should now be put, first upon the minority resolution of Mr. Bayard, of Delaware.

Pending the call of the roll, Mr. Robinson, of Indiana, moved to lay the whole subject on the table.

The President entertained the motion, it being to lay the whole subject upon the table.

The vote being taken on this motion by States, resulted as follows :

AYES.—Massachusetts 2; New Jersey, 4; South Carolina, 8; Louisiana, 6; Ohio, 1; Kentucky, 7; Indiana, 13; Arkansas, 3. Total, 44.

NAYS.—Maine, 8; New Hampshire, 5; Vermont, 5; Massachusetts, 11; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 6; New Jersey, 3; Pennsylvania, 27; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 8; Virginia, 15; North Carolina, 10; Georgia, 10; Alabama, 9; Mississippi, 7; Ohio, 22; Kentucky 12; Tennessee, 5; Arkansas, 1; Illinois, 11; Missouri, 9; Michigan, 6; Florida, 3; Texas, 4; Iowa, 4; Wisconsin, 5; California, 4. Total, 217.

The motion being lost, the question came upon the adoption of the minority resolution of the Committee on Credentials, reported by Mr. Bayard, and the vote being called by States, resulted as follows :

AYES.—Maine, 6; Massachusetts, 3; Rhode Island, 1; Connecticut, 6; New Jersey, 6; Pennsylvania, 27; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 6; Virginia, 15; Georgia, 4; Ohio, 10; Kentucky, 6; Tennessee, 10; Indiana, 13; Missouri, 6; Arkansas, 2; Texas, 3; Wisconsin, 5; California, 4. Total, 137.

NAYS.—Maine, 2; New Hampshire, 5; Vermont, 5; Massachusetts, 10; Rhode Island, 3; New Jersey, 1; Maryland, 2; North Carolina, 10; South Carolina, 8; Georgia, 6; Alabama, 9; Mississippi, 7; Louisiana, 6; Ohio, 13; Kentucky, 5; Tennessee, 2; Illinois, 11; Missouri, 3; Arkansas, 2; Michigan, 6; Florida, 3; Iowa, 4. Total, 123.

The President proclaimed the resolution of the minority, reported by Mr. Bayard, as adopted.

Mr. Preston, of Kentucky, moved to reconsider this vote, and that the motion lay on the table. Adopted.

The question was then put on the adoption of the resolution as amended, and the same was carried.

Mr. Preston moved to reconsider this vote, and that the motion lie on the table. Adopted.

Mr. Preston moved that a committee of seven of the Convention be appointed to wait upon the New York delegations, and inform them of the decision of the Convention.

The Chair announced the following as the committee to wait on the New York delegations and acquaint them with the decision of the Convention :

Preston, of Kentucky; Butler, of Massachusetts; Richardson, of Illinois; Gardner, of Georgia; Meade, of Virginia; Wickliffe, of Kentucky; Pickens, of South Carolina.

George McCook of Ohio, moved the following resolution :

Resolved, That at two o'clock P. M., this day, this Convention will proceed, by a call of the States, to nominate a candidate for the Presidency. [Adopted.]

On motion the Convention then took a recess until two o'clock, P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION, JUNE 5, 1856.

Mr. Preston, of Kentucky, reported from the committee to acquaint the New York Delegations of the decision of the Convention in the New York contest, that the committee had performed their duty, and that the contesting delegations had declared their acquiescence in the decision, and would be prepared to comply with it.

The following is the list of Delegates, from New York, as reported to the Convention by the respective delegations from that State.

The delegation of which Hon. Horatio Seymour was at the head was

Horatio Seymour, *of Utica*,
 Nicholas Hill, Jr., *Albany*,
 Wm. H. Ludlow,
 Samuel E. Johnson,
 Thomas Byrns,
 George H. Purser,
 Stephen H. Feeks,
 John Cochran, *New York*,
 Lorenzo B. Shepherd, *do.*,
 Daniel F.
 J. N. Fowler, *New York*,
 John C. Holley,
 Thomas R. Westbrook,
 Dean Richmond, *Buffalo*,
 Charles L. McArthur,
 John V. L. Pruyn, *Albany*,
 Lemuel L. Jenks,
 Timothy Hoyle,

William C. Crain,
 John C. Wright,
 Horatio Bullard,
 John Stryker,
 Horace G. Prindle,
 Sands N. Kenyon,
 DeWitt C. West,
 Dennis McCarthy,
 Elmore P. Ross,
 William C. Dyer,
 John J. Taylor,
 William C. Rhodes,
 Simon B. Jewett,
 L. P. Weatherby,
 William Vandervert,
 Israel T. Hatch,
 N. Sackett.

The delegation of which the Hon. Samuel Beardsley was at the head, was

Samuel Beardsley, *Utica*,
 George W. Clinton, *Buffalo*,
 Legrand G. Capers,
 Henry C. Murphy,
 Joseph Blackburn,
 Thomas Wheeler,
 Robert W. Allen,
 Augustus Schell, *New York*,
 Elijah Ward,
 Daniel B. Taylor, *New York*,
 Robert H. Ludlow,
 Samuel Fowler,
 William F. Russell,
 George W. Petton,
 David L. Seymour, *Troy*,
 David Hamilton,
 Orville Clark, *Sandy Hill*,
 Putnam B. Fisk,

Charles Gray.
 Thomas B. Mitchell,
 Samuel S. Brown,
 John Rice,
 Ausburn Birdsall, *Binghampton*,
 Delos DeWolf,
 Lysander H. Brown,
 John J. Peck,
 Charles W. Pomeroy,
 Wm. Clark,
 Erastus Evans,
 John A. Vanderlip,
 Nicholas E. Pain,
 James G. Shepherd,
 Harvey Goodrich,
 Henry A. Rogers, *Buffalo*,
 Benjamin Walworth.

Mr. Inge, of California, moved that the resolution relative to the establishment of a public road across our territory be reconsidered.

Mr. Thompson, of Mississippi, insisted that the motion was not in order; that by the decision of the Convention this morning, the order of the hour was to ballot for the Presidency.

The President so decided.

Mr. Calhoun, of Pennsylvania, arose to a privileged question. The New York delegation had been admitted, but they had not yet signified their acquiescence in the platform, and they ought to be permitted to do so. [Applause. Yes, yes.]

Mr. Meade, of Virginia, then moved that New York be now permitted to vote on the resolutions constituting the platform, which motion was unanimously adopted.

New York was then called for her vote on said resolutions, and by her respective Chairmen, cast her entire *thirty-five* votes in the affirmative, which was received with *great applause*.

Mr. Inge, of California, moved for a suspension of the rules, with a view to reconsider the vote laying upon the table, the resolution in favor of an overland communication between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts—and he called for a vote by States.

Ayes:—Maine 1, Vermont 5, Massachusetts 11, New York 35, Maryland 8, Georgia 1, Louisiana 6, Ohio 6, Tennessee 5, Illinois 11, Missouri 9, Michigan 6, Texas 4, Iowa 4, Wisconsin 5, California 4—121.

Noes:—Maine 7, New Hampshire 5, Massachusetts 2, Rhode Island 4, Connecticut 6, New Jersey 7, Pennsylvania 27, Delaware 3, Virginia 15, North Carolina 10, South Carolina 8, Georgia 9, Alabama 9, Mississippi 7, Ohio 17, Kentucky 12, Tennessee 7, Iowa 13, Arkansas 4, Florida 3—175.

So the motion to suspend the rules was lost.

Mr. Ludlow, of New York, alluding to the conciliatory spirit which had influenced the Convention in its action on the question so happily adjusted, asked that in the same spirit the Convention would not suffer some seventy good Democrats, who had been sent here as delegates, to wander through the streets of Cincinnati without permission to enter the hall.

The President decided that the gentleman was out of order.

The Chair then announced that the order of the hour was the vote on the nomination for Presidency.

R. Kidder Meade, of Virginia—I am charged by my delegation with the duty of presenting to this Convention, as a candidate for the Presidency, the name of that honest and eminent statesman, James Buchanan. [Applause.]

Harry Hibbard, of New Hampshire—In the name of the Democracy of New Hampshire I present the name of Franklin Pierce. [Applause.]

Mr. Inge, of California—I am unanimously instructed by the delegation from California to put in nomination the great champion of American progress, Lewis Cass, of Michigan. [Applause.]

Mr. Richardson—I propose Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, for the nomination for the Presidency. [Applause]

The Convention then proceeded to vote for a candidate for President. The first ballot was as follows:

1ST BALLOT FOR PRESIDENT.

STATES.	James Buchanan.	Franklin Pierce.	Stephen A. Douglas.	Lewis Cass.
Maine,.....	5	3		
New Hampshire, ..		5		
Vermont,.....		5		
Massachusetts,....	4	9		
Rhode Island,.....		4		
Connecticut,.....	6			
New York,.....	17	18		
New Jersey,.....	7			
Pennsylvania,.....	27			
Delaware,.....	3			
Maryland,.....	6	2		
Virginia,.....	15			
North Carolina,...		10		
South Carolina,...		8		
Georgia,.....		10		
Alabama,.....		9		
Mississippi,.....		7		
Louisiana,.....	6			
Ohio,.....	13½	4½	4	1
Kentucky,.....	4	5	3	
Tennessee,.....		12		
Indiana,.....	13			
Illinois,.....			11	
Missouri,.....			9	
Arkansas,.....		4		
Michigan,.....	6			
Florida,.....		3		
Texas,.....		4		
Iowa,.....			2	
Wisconsin,.....	3			
California,.....				4
	125½	122½	33	5

There being no choice the Chair ordered a 2d ballot.

2d BALLOT FOR PRESIDENT.

STATES.	James Buchanan.	Franklin Pierce.	Stephen A. Douglas.	Lewis Cass.
Maine,.....	5	3		
New Hampshire, ..		5		
Vermont,.....		5		
Massachusetts,....	4	9		
Rhode Island,.....		4		
Connecticut,.....	6			
New York,.....	18	17		
New Jersey,.....	7			
Pennsylvania,.....	27			
Delaware,.....	3			
Maryland,.....	6	2		
Virginia,.....	15			
North Carolina,...		10		
South Carolina,...		8		
Georgia,.....		10		
Alabama,.....		9		
Mississippi,.....		7		
Louisiana,.....	6			
Ohio,.....	13	3½	4½	2
Kentucky,.....	5	4	3	
Tennessee,.....		12		
Indiana,.....	13			
Illinois,.....			11	
Missouri,.....			9	
Arkansas,.....		4		
Michigan,.....	6			
Florida,.....		3		
Texas,.....		4		
Iowa,.....	2		2	
Wisconsin,.....	3			
California,.....				4
	139	119½	31½	6

There being no choice, a 3d ballot was ordered.

3d BALLOT FOR PRESIDENT.

STATES.	James Buchanan.	Franklin Pierce.	Stephen A. Douglas.	Lewis Cass.
Maine,.....	5	3		
New Hampshire, ..		5		
Vermont,.....		5		
Massachusetts,....	4	9		
Rhode Island,.....		4		
Connecticut,.....	6			
New York,.....	17	18		
New Jersey,.....	7			
Pennsylvania,.....	27			
Delaware,.....	3			
Maryland,.....	6	2		
Virginia,.....	15			
North Carolina,...		10		
South Carolina,...		8		
Georgia,.....		10		
Alabama,.....		9		
Mississippi,.....		7		
Louisiana,.....	6			
Ohio,.....	13½	3	5	1½
Kentucky,.....	4	3	5	
Tennessee,.....		12		
Indiana,.....	13			
Illinois,.....			11	
Missouri,.....			9	
Arkansas,.....		4		
Michigan,.....	6			
Florida,.....		3		
Texas,.....		4		
Iowa,.....	2		2	
Wisconsin,.....	5			
California,.....				4
	139½	119	32	5½

A 4th ballot was then had.

4TH BALLOT FOR PRESIDENT.

STATES.	James Buchanan.	Franklin Pierce.	Stephen A. Douglas.	Lewis Cass.
Maine,.....	5	3		
New Hampshire, ..		5		
Vermont,.....		5		
Massachusetts,....	4	9		
Rhode Island,.....		4		
Connecticut,.....	6			
New York,.....	18	17		
New Jersey,.....	7			
Pennsylvania,.....	27			
Delaware,.....	3			
Maryland,.....	6	2		
Virginia,.....	15			
North Carolina,...		10		
South Carolina,...		8		
Georgia,.....		10		
Alabama,.....		9		
Mississippi,.....		7		
Louisiana,.....	6			
Ohio,.....	13½	3	5	1½
Kentucky,.....	5	4	3	
Tennessee,.....		12		
Indiana,.....	13			
Illinois,.....			11	
Missouri,.....			9	
Arkansas,.....		4		
Michigan,.....	6			
Florida,.....		3		
Texas,.....		4		
Iowa,.....	2		2	
Wisconsin,.....	5			
California,.....				4
	141½	119	30	5½

A 5th ballot was then directed.

5th BALLOT FOR PRESIDENT.

STATES.	James Buchanan.	Franklin Pierce.	Stephen A. Douglas.	Lewis Cass.
Maine.....	5	3		
New Hampshire,		5		
Vermont.....		5		
Massachusetts, ..	5	8		
Rhode Island,...		4		
Connecticut,....	6			
New York,.....	17	18		
New Jersey,....	7			
Pennsylvania,...	27			
Delaware,.....	3			
Maryland,.....	6	2		
Virginia,.....	15			
North Carolina,...		10		
South Carolina,...		8		
Georgia,.....		10		
Alabama,.....		9		
Mississippi,....		7		
Louisiana,.....	6			
Ohio,.....	13½	3	5	1½
Kentucky,.....	3½	4½	4	
Tennessee,.....		12		
Indiana,.....	13			
Illinois,.....			11	
Missouri,.....			9	
Arkansas,.....		4		
Michigan,.....	6			
Florida,.....		3		
Texas,.....		4		
Iowa,.....	2		2	
Wisconsin,.....	5			
California,.....				4
	140	119½	31	5½

A 6th ballot was then had.

6TH BALLOT FOR PRESIDENT.

STATES.	James Buchanan.	Franklin Pierce.	Stephen A. Douglas.	Lewis Cass.
Maine.....	5	3		
New Hampshire,		5		
Vermont.....		5		
Massachusetts, ..	5	8		
Rhode Island,...		4		
Connecticut,....	6			
New York,.....	18	17		
New Jersey,....	7			
Pennsylvania,...	27			
Delaware,.....	3			
Maryland,.....	6	2		
Virginia,.....	15			
North Carolina,...		10		
South Carolina,...		8		
Georgia,.....		10		
Alabama,.....		9		
Mississippi,....		7		
Louisiana,.....	6			
Ohio,.....	13½	3	5	1½
Kentucky,.....	5½	5½	1	
Tennessee,.....	12			
Indiana,.....	13			
Illinois,.....			11	
Missouri,.....			9	
Arkansas,.....		4		
Michigan,.....	6			
Florida,.....		3		
Texas,.....		4		
Iowa,.....	2		2	
Wisconsin,.....	5			
California,.....				4
	155	107½	28	5½

A 7th ballot was then taken.

7TH BALLOT FOR PRESIDENT.

STATES.	James Buchanan.	Franklin Pierce.	Stephen A. Douglas.	Lewis Cass.
Maine.....	5	3		
New Hampshire,		5		
Vermont.....		5		
Massachusetts, ..	6	7		
Rhode Island,...		4		
Connecticut,....	6			
New York,.....	17	18		
New Jersey,....	7			
Pennsylvania,...	27			
Delaware,.....	3			
Maryland,.....	6	2		
Virginia,.....	15			
North Carolina,...		10		
South Carolina,...		8		
Georgia,.....	3		7	
Alabama,.....		9		
Mississippi,....		7		
Louisiana,.....	6			
Ohio,.....	13	4	4½	1½
Kentucky,.....	3½		8½	
Tennessee,.....			12	
Indiana,.....	13			
Illinois,.....			11	
Missouri,.....			9	
Arkansas,.....			4	
Michigan,.....	6			
Florida,.....		3		
Texas,.....		4		
Iowa,.....	2		2	
Wisconsin,.....	5			
California,.....				4
	143½	89	58	5½

The States were then called for the 8th ballot.

8TH BALLOT FOR PRESIDENT.

STATES.	James Buchanan.	Franklin Pierce.	Stephen A. Douglas.	Lewis Cass.
Maine.....	6	2		
New Hampshire,		5		
Vermont.....		5		
Massachusetts,...	6	7		
Rhode Island,...		4		
Connecticut,....	6			
New York,.....	18	17		
New Jersey,....	7			
Pennsylvania,...	27			
Delaware,.....	3			
Maryland,.....	6	2		
Virginia,.....	15			
North Carolina,...		10		
South Carolina,...		8		
Georgia,.....	3		7	
Alabama,.....		9		
Mississippi,....		7		
Louisiana,.....	6			
Ohio,.....	13	4	4½	1½
Kentucky,.....	5½		6½	
Tennessee,.....			12	
Indiana,.....	13			
Illinois,.....			11	
Missouri,.....			9	
Arkansas,.....			4	
Michigan,.....	6			
Florida,.....		3		
Texas,.....		4		
Iowa,.....	2		2	
Wisconsin,.....	5			
California,.....				4
	147½	87	56	5½

After the result of the 8th ballot Mr. Yulee moved an adjournment, which was lost, and the 9th ballot ordered.

9TH BALLOT FOR PRESIDENT.

STATES.	James Buchanan.	Franklin Pierce.	Stephen A. Douglas.	Lewis Cass.
Maine,.....	6	2		
New Hampshire,.....		5		
Vermont,.....		5		
Massachusetts,...	6	7		
Rhode Island,...		4		
Connecticut,....	6			
New York,.....	17	18		
New Jersey,.....	7			
Pennsylvania,...	27			
Delaware,.....	3			
Maryland,.....	7	1		
Virginia,.....	15			
North Carolina, .		10		
South Carolina, .		8		
Georgia,.....	3		7	
Alabama,.....		9		
Mississippi,.....		7		
Louisiana,.....	6			
Ohio,.....	13	4	3	3
Kentucky,.....	4		8	
Tennessee,.....			12	
Indiana,.....	13			
Illinois,.....			11	
Missouri,.....			9	
Arkansas,.....			4	
Michigan,.....	6			
Florida,.....		3		
Texas,.....		4		
Iowa,.....	2		2	
Wisconsin,.....	5			
California,.....				4
	146	87	56	7

The 10th ballot was then taken.

10TH BALLOT FOR PRESIDENT.

STATES.	James Buchanan.	Franklin Pierce.	Stephen A. Douglas.	Lewis Cass.
Maine,.....	6	2		
New Hampshire,.....		5		
Vermont,.....			5	
Massachusetts,...	6	7		
Rhode Island,...		4		
Connecticut,....	6			
New York,.....	18	17		
New Jersey,.....	7			
Pennsylvania,...	27			
Delaware,.....	3			
Maryland,.....	7	1		
Virginia,.....	15			
North Carolina, .		10		
South Carolina, .		8		
Georgia,.....	3		7	
Alabama,.....		9		
Mississippi,.....		7		
Louisiana,.....	6			
Ohio,.....	13	3½	5	1½
Kentucky,.....	4½		7½	
Tennessee,.....			12	
Indiana,.....	13			
Illinois,.....			11	
Missouri,.....			9	
Arkansas,.....			4	
Michigan,.....	6			
Florida,.....		3		
Texas,.....		4		
Iowa,.....	2		2	
Wisconsin,.....	5			
California,.....				4
	147½	80½	62½	5½

The 11th ballot was then taken.

11TH BALLOT FOR PRESIDENT.

STATES.	James Buchanan.	Franklin Pierce.	Stephen A. Douglas.	Lewis Cass.
Maine,.....	6	2		
New Hampshire,.....		5		
Vermont,.....			5	
Massachusetts,...	6	7		
Rhode Island,...		4		
Connecticut,....	6			
New York,.....	17	18		
New Jersey,.....	7			
Pennsylvania,...	27			
Delaware,.....	3			
Maryland,.....	8			
Virginia,.....	15			
North Carolina, .		10		
South Carolina, .		8		
Georgia,.....	3		7	
Alabama,.....		9		
Mississippi,.....		7		
Louisiana,.....	6			
Ohio,.....	13	3	5½	1½
Kentucky,.....	4½		7½	
Tennessee,.....			12	
Indiana,.....	13			
Illinois,.....			11	
Missouri,.....			9	
Arkansas,.....			4	
Michigan,.....	6			
Florida,.....		3		
Texas,.....		4		
Iowa,.....	2		2	
Wisconsin,.....	5			
California,.....				4
	147½	80	63	5½

The States were called for the 12th ballot.

12TH BALLOT FOR PRESIDENT.

STATES.	James Buchanan.	Franklin Pierce.	Stephen A. Douglas.	Lewis Cass.
Maine,.....	6	2		
New Hampshire,.....		5		
Vermont,.....			5	
Massachusetts,...	6	7		
Rhode Island,...		4		
Connecticut,....	6			
New York,.....	18	17		
New Jersey,.....	7			
Pennsylvania,...	27			
Delaware,.....	3			
Maryland,.....	8			
Virginia,.....	15			
North Carolina, .		10		
South Carolina, .		8		
Georgia,.....	3		7	
Alabama,.....		9		
Mississippi,.....		7		
Louisiana,.....	6			
Ohio,.....	12½	3	6	1½
Kentucky,.....	4½		7½	
Tennessee,.....			12	
Indiana,.....	13			
Illinois,.....			11	
Missouri,.....			9	
Arkansas,.....			4	
Michigan,.....	6			
Florida,.....		3		
Texas,.....		4		
Iowa,.....	2		2	
Wisconsin,.....	5			
California,.....				4
	148	79	63½	5½

After the 12th ballot Mr. Burnett, of Alabama, moved an adjournment; but objection being made, it was withdrawn and the 13th ballot called for.

13TH BALLOT FOR PRESIDENT.				
STATES.	James Buchanan.	Franklin Pierce.	Stephen A. Douglas.	Lewis Cass.
Maine,	6	2		
New Hampshire,		5		
Vermont,			5	
Massachusetts, ..	6½	6½		
Rhode Island,	2	2		
Connecticut,	6			
New York,	17	18		
New Jersey,	7			
Pennsylvania,	27			
Delaware,	3			
Maryland,	8			
Virginia,	15			
North Carolina, ..		10		
South Carolina, ..		8		
Georgia,	3		7	
Alabama,		9		
Mississippi,		7		
Louisiana,	6			
Ohio,	13	3	5½	1½
Kentucky,	4½		7½	
Tennessee,			12	
Indiana,	13			
Illinois,			11	
Missouri,			9	
Arkansas,			4	
Michigan,	6			
Florida,		3		
Texas,		4		
Iowa,	2		2	
Wisconsin,	5			
California,				4
	150	77½	63	5½

AFTER THE 13TH BALLOT, Mr. McMullen, of Virginia, moved an adjournment. The vote by States being called for, resulted as follows :

YEAS.—New Hampshire, 5 ; Vermont, 5 ; Rhode Island, 4 ; New York, 17 ; North Carolina, 5 ; South Carolina, 8 ; Georgia, 10 ; Alabama, 9 ; Mississippi, 7 ; Ohio, 8 ; Kentucky, 5 ; Tennessee, 12 ; Illinois, 11 ; Missouri, 9 ; Arkansas, 4 ; Florida, 3 ; Texas, 4 ; Iowa, 2 ; California, 4—Total, 132.

NAYS.—Maine, 8 ; Massachusetts, 13 ; Connecticut, 6 ; New York, 18 ; New Jersey, 7 ; Pennsylvania, 27 ; Delaware, 3 ; Maryland, 8 ; Virginia, 15 ; North Carolina, 5 ; Louisiana, 6 ; Ohio, 15 ; Kentucky, 7 ; Indiana, 13 ; Michigan, 6 ; Iowa, 2 ; Wisconsin, 5. Total, 164. So the motion was lost.

14TH BALLOT FOR PRESIDENT.				
STATES.	James Buchanan.	Franklin Pierce.	Stephen A. Douglas.	Lewis Cass.
Maine,.....	6	2		
New Hampshire,		5		
Vermont,.....			5	
Massachusetts,...	7	6		
Rhode Island,...	4			
Connecticut,....	6			
New York,.....	17	18		
New Jersey,	7			
Pennsylvania,...	27			
Delaware,.....	3			
Maryland,.....	8			
Virginia,.....	15			
North Carolina, .		10		
South Carolina, .		8		
Georgia,.....	3		7	
Alabama,.....		9		
Mississippi,.....		7		
Louisiana,.....	6			
Ohio,.....	13	3	5½	1½
Kentucky,.....	4½		7½	
Tennessee,.....			12	
Indiana,.....	13			
Illinois,.....			11	
Missouri,.....			9	
Arkansas,.....			4	
Michigan,.....	6			
Florida,		3		
Texas,.....		4		
Iowa,.....	2		2	
Wisconsin,.....	5			
California,.....				4
	152½	75	63	5½

AFTER THE 14TH BALLOT, Mr. Flournoy, of Arkansas, moved that the Convention do now adjourn until to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock. A call for votes by States being made, resulted as follows :

YEAS.—Maine, 1 ; New Hampshire, 5 ; Vermont, 5 ; Massachusetts, 8 ; Rhode Island, 4 ; New York, 17 ; New Jersey, 7 ; Pennsylvania, 27 ; Delaware 5 ; Virginia, 15 ; North Carolina, 10 ; South Carolina, 8 ; Georgia, 9 ; Alabama, 9 ; Mississippi, 7 ; Louisiana, 6 ; Ohio, 15 ; Kentucky, 12 ; Tennessee, 6 ; Indiana, 13 ; Illinois, 11 ; Missouri, 9 ; Arkansas, 4 ; Florida, 3, Texas, 4 ; Iowa, 4 ; Wisconsin, 5 ; California, 4 Total, 231.

NAYS.—Maine, 7 ; Massachusetts, 5 ; Connecticut, 6 ; New York, 18 ; Maryland, 8 ; Georgia, 1 ; Ohio, 8 ; Tennessee, 6 ; Michigan, 6. Total, 65.
The Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock.

FIFTH DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

MORNING SESSION, JUNE 6, 1856.

The Convention was called to order precisely at nine o'clock. The President said that they would now proceed to the fifteenth ballot.

Mr. Hibbard, of New Hampshire, arose and said :

Mr. President—New Hampshire has thus far given her votes for Franklin Pierce, in accordance with the wishes of the entire body of the democracy of our State. In common with other friends, tried and true, she has supported him steadfastly and earnestly. But, sir, strong as is her preference for her own distinguished son, abiding as is her confidence in his patriotism and statesmanship, warm as is her attachment to him personally, she is willing to defer even these considerations for what may seem the more practicable method of advancing cherished principles. She lays them all as an offering upon the altar of our common cause. In so doing, she acts in accordance, not only with the dictates of her political duty, but with his own expressed desire. The unanimous adoption by this Convention of our noble platform, is the most comprehensive and emphatic sanction of the administration of President Pierce. Beyond this, there needs no tongue to speak his eulogy. I therefore withdraw his name from the present contest. And, sir, by the unanimous instruction of our delegation, I cast the five votes of our State for the man we regard as the next best exponent of the principles and measures so nobly illustrated by the administration of Franklin Pierce—the bold, efficient and ever faithful statesman of Illinois, Stephen A. Douglas. [Great Applause.]

15TH BALLOT FOR PRESIDENT.

STATES.	James Buchanan.	Franklin Pierce.	Stephen A. Douglas.	Lewis Cass.
Maine,	7	1		
New Hampshire, ..			5	
Vermont,			5	
Massachusetts, ...	10		3	
Rhode Island, ...	4			
Connecticut,	6			
New York,	17		18	
New Jersey,	7			
Pennsylvania, ...	27			
Delaware,	3			
Maryland,	8			
Virginia,	15			
North Carolina, .			10	
South Carolina, .			8	
Georgia,	3		7	
Alabama,			9	
Mississippi,			7	
Louisiana,	6			
Ohio,	13½	2½	6½	½
Kentucky,	4		7	
Tennessee,	12			
Indiana,	13			
Illinois,			11	
Missouri,			9	
Arkansas,			4	
Michigan,	6			
Florida,			3	
Texas,			4	
Iowa,	2		2	
Wisconsin,	5			
California,				4
	168½	3½	118½	4½

There being no choice, the 16th ballot was called for.

16TH BALLOT FOR PRESIDENT.

STATES.	James Buchanan.	Franklin Pierce.	Stephen A. Douglas.	Lewis Cass.
Maine,	8			
New Hampshire, ..			5	
Vermont,			5	
Massachusetts, ..	10		3	
Rhode Island, ...	4			
Connecticut,	6			
New York,	18		17	
New Jersey,	7			
Pennsylvania, ...	27			
Delaware,	3			
Maryland,	8			
Virginia,	15			
North Carolina, .			10	
South Carolina, .			8	
Georgia,	3		7	
Alabama,			9	
Mississippi,			7	
Louisiana,	6			
Ohio,	15		6	2
Kentucky,			12	
Tennessee,	12			
Indiana,	13			
Illinois,			11	
Missouri,			9	
Arkansas,			4	
Michigan,	6			
Florida,			3	
Texas,			4	
Iowa,	2		2	
Wisconsin,	5			
California,				4
	168		122	6

No choice being made, the 17th ballot was had.

When Mr. Preston, of Kentucky, said ; Mr. President—As one of the friends of Mr. Douglas, I have become sufficiently satisfied by the evidences presented here, that it is the wish of this Convention that James Buchanan should be the nominee for President of the United States; I believe that Judge Douglas himself, and the friends of Judge Douglas, and when I say this, I speak with some degree of knowledge on the subject—I believe that the friends of Mr. Douglas will be among the first to come forward, and in a spirit of liberality, put an end to the useless contest. I will now give way to the gentleman from Illinois, the friend of Mr. Douglas.

During Mr. Preston's remarks there were loud expressions of dissatisfaction and cries of "No, no !" "Don't withdraw !" "Don't withdraw !"

Here W. A. Richardson, of Illinois, arose, and waiving his hand, there was immediate and general silence. In a solemn and impressive manner that gentleman proceeded to address the Convention as follows:

Mr. Richardson—Mr. President and gentlemen of the Convention : Before undertaking to advise any gentleman on this floor what he ought to do, I consider that I have a duty which I owe to my constituents, and which, since it is now imposed on me, I feel it is due to the Democratic party and friends of Stephen A. Douglas, that I should discharge. Whatever may be the opinion of the gentleman as to the

contest, I am satisfied that I cannot advance his interests or the interests of the common cause, or the principles of the Democratic party, by continuing him in this contest. I will, therefore, state that I have a dispatch from Judge Douglas, which I desire, may be permitted to be read, and I shall then withdraw his name from before the Convention. I desire, gentlemen, after that, to decide on what course they may deem it proper to pursue. [Tremendous applause—profound sensation.]

The dispatch was sent to the Chair to be read, and is as follows :

LETTER OF S. A. DOUGLAS TO W. A. RICHARDSON, OF ILLINOIS.

WASHINGTON, June 4, 1856.

Dear Sir : From the telegraphic reports in the newspapers, I fear that an embittered state of feeling is being engendered in the Convention, which may endanger the harmony and success of our party. I wish you and all my friends to bear in mind that I have a thousand fold more anxiety for the triumph of our principles than for my own personal elevation.

If the withdrawal of my name will contribute to the harmony of our party or the success of our cause, I hope you will not hesitate to take the step. Especially it is my desire that the action of the Convention will embody and express the wishes, feelings and principles of the Democracy of the Republic ; and hence, if Mr. Pierce or Mr. Buchanan, or any other statesman who is faithful to the great issues involved in the contest, shall receive a majority of the Convention, I earnestly hope that all my friends will unite in insuring him two thirds, and then in making his nomination unanimous. Let no personal considerations disturb the harmony or endanger the triumph of our principles.

S. A. DOUGLAS.

To Hon. W. A. RICHARDSON, Burnet House, Cincinnati, Ohio.

The reading of this dispatch was interrupted by frequent and tremendous applause. It was some time before order could be restored. When the Convention had subsided into something like order, the President announced that they would proceed with the seventeenth ballot.

Mr. Preston—I move that James Buchanan be nominated as the candidate of the democratic party, for President of the United States, by acclamation.

Voices—Go on with the call—go on with the call !

The roll was then called for the seventeenth ballot :

Maine cast her eight votes for James Buchanan.

When New Hampshire, was called, Mr. Hibbard said:—Mr. President: New Hampshire has steadily supported the favorite of her people, until it was apparent that he was not the choice of the convention. She then withdrew his name and went heartily for the champion of the North West. The ballottings have shown a like disposition with regard to him. His name, too, is now withdrawn. It is apparent that Mr. Buchanan is the candidate of the Convention. The will of the majority becomes now the choice of all. New Hampshire, sir, bows most respectfully to that decision. She will support the great statesman of Pennsylvania with the same fidelity and determination she has devoted to the cause of her own cherished son. She throws her five votes for James Buchanan, and she will roll down for him her majority of thousands in November next, like an avalanche from her granite hills ! [Great applause.]

Vermont being called, Mr. Smalley rose and said :—Vermont cast her unanimous vote for nine successive ballots for Franklin Pierce, because they regard his Administration, both in its domestic and foreign policy, as entitled to the entire confidence and approbation of every true Democrat. He has, in a perilous crisis, maintained firmly our honor abroad, fearlessly confronted all the intestine factions that have for the last three years distracted our Republic, and nobly sustained the constitutional rights of every part of our common country. He is our neighbor, and we *know* him to be a man, a patriot, and a statesman without reproach. But we became convinced that he was not the choice of this Convention, and therefore Vermont gave her five votes for a favorite son, who was born and educated amid her Green Mountains—the bold, the eloquent, and the successful champion in the United States Senate of the great principle of Popular Sovereignty—Stephen A. Douglas. But his name has been, for the purpose of conciliation, harmony and unity of action, at his request, withdrawn from the Convention. Vermont now comes cordially and earnestly to the support of the ripe, able and accomplished statesman of Pennsylvania. And though her Democracy can promise but little, will yield to none in the fidelity and zeal with which they will battle for his election. I am unanimously instructed to cast the five votes of Vermont for James Buchanan. [Loud cheers.]

Massachusetts was next called, when Mr. Butler answered as follows : Massachusetts has heretofore shown that she reposes faith and confidence in the distinguished statesman of her own section of the country; yet she has no factious opposition to make to the wishes of the great Democratic party, as indicated in this convention. And though, sir, she cannot promise much, yet, when the nomination is made, she will say, in the language of one of her gallant sons at Lundy's Lane, when ordered to take a British battery—"We will try." I am instructed to cast the thirteen votes of Massachusetts for James Buchanan. [Applause.]

When the vote of Rhode Island was called for, Mr. Lawrence said : Mr. President: Rhode Island, during twelve ballots, manifested her

approval of the administration of our distinguished President, whose nomination—which she ratified by her electoral vote—her delegates four years ago were among the first to sustain. She would have continued to cast the same vote had she not been convinced that General Pierce could not unite the requisite support in this Convention. She therefore, last evening transferred her votes to the eminent citizen of Pennsylvania, who, I am free to declare, is, under existing circumstances, the only one of the candidates that have been before us that can redeem our State, and it is with the greatest satisfaction that the delegation of Rhode Island congratulate their fellow citizens that the nomination of James Buchanan is now unanimously responded to.

Connecticut then cast her six votes for James Buchanan.

New York was next called, whereupon Mr. Horatio Seymour rose and said: The State of New York, in many respects divided, has at last become united on one point, the moral necessity of confining the nomination within the circle of the three distinguished gentlemen whose names were first presented to the people as candidates for the Presidency. Speaking, in this convention, for one section of the Democratic party of the State of New York, I have felt it to be my duty—I state that we have felt it our duty to cast our votes for Franklin Pierce. So long as his name continued before the convention, we unfalteringly adhered to him. When his nomination became impossible, we felt it our duty to give our support to the nomination of Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois. His name is now formally withdrawn by the person authorized to speak for him; indeed, he has spoken for himself. While we have the strongest desire to continue our support for him, we feel that we should be recreant to ourselves and to those whom we represent, if the State of New York should go beyond the limits of the three names originally presented to the people of the United States for nomination. At this stage of the proceedings, in view of this statement, in view of the exigencies of the case, in view of the position in which we are now placed, I ask that we may be permitted to retire and consult, in order that this nomination may go forth with that moral force and influence which we have so much at heart.

Hereupon that part of the delegation from New York, of which Mr. Ludlow was chairman, withdrew for consultation, and on returning to the Convention,

Mr. Ludlow of New York, said—Mr. President, The wing of the Democratic party of the State of New York, represented by the delegation of which I have the honor to be chairman, has come into this Convention under great disadvantages. It has, Sir, ever been a strong distinctive feature of our Democracy of New York, to stand with reliable truth and firmness by those whom we have reason to regard our friends, and Sir, in this view having had no candidate of our own to present, and without any pledges to others, we have been content and pleased to support the nominees of our friends. We have done so, honorably and honestly, and now that those nominees are withdrawn from the further consideration of this Convention, we shall assume no factious attitude, and I take pleasure in following out the

sentiment of this Convention, as now indicated, and give eighteen votes from New York, for James Buchanan.

New Jersey then casts her seven votes for James Buchanan.

When Pennsylvania was called,

Hon. John L. Dawson, said—Mr. President, The venerable chairman of our delegation, Gov. Porter, not much accustomed to public speaking, has devolved upon me the duty of expressing to this Convention our high appreciation of the honor conferred upon our State in the selection of its distinguished citizen as the nominee of the Democratic party. [Great applause.] We are more than gratified that the time has arrived in the deliberations of this body, when the sacrifice of personal preferences and predilections becomes a virtue. Ardent attachment to distinguished, able and well-tried leaders is a noble characteristic of our people, and is only to be waived at the call of patriotism and necessity. [Cheers.] In this case that harmony and unanimity which is essential to our action, and the surest harbingers of success, has generously secured this surrender.

The chiefs of the Democracy present many honored names, either of whom would worthily have supported the banner upon which are inscribed the principles to which we own allegiance—that banner now reared to be borne by the distinguished son of our own State, the far beaming effulgence of its legend will penetrate the remotest retreats of the land, and quickly rally around it an invincible host, filled with the enthusiasm inspired by a great cause and by the memory of former triumphs and glories. [Great cheering.]

Mr. Buchanan is a man upon whom all can unite, and in doing so there is no expectation that there will be any surrender of the confidence in or admiration of those whom we pass by.

There is not a heart in this Convention that does not glow with full and grateful recognition of the eminent services, to the Democratic party, of Cass, Hunter, Douglas, Bright, Pierce and others whose names have been mentioned.

The first is, indeed, a mighty name which was long since voluntarily withdrawn from the contest, and whose brilliant efforts in patriotic devotion to the national interest will forever brighten the pages of our country's history. [Tremendous cheers.] In Mr. Hunter we recognize the model Senator, the distinguished Statesman, a chivalric son of old Virginia, he has been nurtured in the school of her sages who laid the foundation and shaped the superstructure of the confederacy. [Applause.]

The clear-sighted boldness, the skilful battle for the right that has marked the public career of Douglas, would have made him a gallant leader in the contest, whom we should all have delighted to follow; [renewed applause;] while in Bright we recognize those high qualities that mark the rising statesmen of the West, and see in him the true representative of her gigantic and advancing power. [Great applause.]

The Administration of General Pierce requires no eulogium from me. True to the Constitution, to the principles and policy of the Democratic party, we say in a spirit of justice: "Well done, good and faithful servant." [Loud cheers.]

As Pennsylvanians, the representatives on this floor of a State, which, in all the elements of greatness, we claim in a spirit of patriotic attachment, is inferior to none in the Union—one of the "Old Thirteen"—are proud that the towering greatness of her son has secured to her the well-merited and distinguished honor. [Loud and long continued applause.] His nomination is a guaranty to the country of an administration of the Constitution in its purity, with a just regard to all sections, and without partial and modern constructions of its spirit and provisions. [Renewed applause.] His election will restore confidence, secure peace to a restless people, and kindle anew the fires of patriotism and love of the Union in bosoms where those sentiments had begun to smoulder. He will receive a large and overwhelming majority in the Keystone State. [Enthusiastic cheers.] A majority demanded by her numerical power consistent with the integrity of her people and their loyalty to the Constitution and the Union of the States. Her gallant sons will rally from the Delaware to the Ohio; on the loftiest summit of her mountain range they will fling our banner to the breeze, bearing upon it the inscription of the honored name of "James Buchanan, our country and the Constitution," and victory as certain as that which attended the American arms upon the immortal battle fields of our national history will brighten in letters of living light upon its broad and ample folds as it will wave so gracefully and gallantly in triumph over the land. [Hearty and long-continued applause.]

Delaware casts her 3 votes for James Buchanan, Maryland 8, and Virginia 15.

When North Carolina was called,

Mr. Avery, Chairman of the North Carolina delegation, said—Mr. President, The delegation of North Carolina appeared in this Convention, with the view to battle for great principles, not for men. The platform adopted by the Convention commanded their most hearty approval; it is broad enough to hold every national man within the limits of the republic; nothing can be taken from it without impairing its symmetry; nothing can be added to it without marring its fair proportions. Under these circumstances we have been prepared to sustain the nominee who may be placed upon that platform with no ordinary zeal. We adhered to Franklin Pierce through many ballots, not only as a matter of choice as being preferred by us above all others at this time, but because we conceived it a duty imposed upon the South to support him in view of the bold and manly stand taken by his Administration in maintaining the laws under the Constitution, and upholding the rights of all the States in this Union. When the State of New Hampshire, in a spirit of conciliation, abandoned her favorite son, we felt it a duty to pay a tribute of respect and gratitude to the distinguished son of Illinois, Stephen A. Douglas. And, General

Pierce out of the way, we could not have returned to our constituents without having manifested in some way our high appreciation of the eminent services rendered to his country by the author of the Kansas and Nebraska bill.

We have sustained by our votes thus far these two eminent men, in no factious spirit; and as it is apparent that the feeling of this Convention is in favor of the distinguished son of the Keystone State, we acquiesce in that manifestation of preference made by our political brethren here assembled. The Hon. James Buchanan was the first choice of North Carolina for President four years ago. He has undergone no change in political sentiments since that time, and our confidence in him has not been in any wise impaired, for the Democracy of North Carolina loves James Buchanan still. Pending his stay in Europe, events transpired which identified Messrs. Pierce and Douglas more prominently than others with certain leading issues before the country, and according to the views we entertained respecting their services in that behalf, we could not consistently abandon them while the name of either of them was before the Convention; *they* are now both withdrawn, and we come a united delegation with a hearty good will to the support of the man for whom North Carolina did battle four years ago. On behalf of the North Carolina delegation I cast ten votes for James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania. [Applause.]

When South Carolina was called, Governor Manning addressed the President as follows:—

South Carolina, determined as she is to support the candidates placed upon the platform of principles erected by this Convention, has given that support in the first instance to Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, and then to Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, and she would have continued to yield to them an unfaltering support as long as their names were presented by their friends to the Convention. But there is something else that South Carolina has at heart, as much as her attachment to persons or friends in this contest—the preservation of the Constitution and the Union. By the action of this Convention, and by the presence here of South Carolina, the bond of brotherhood among all the States of this Union is undivided. South Carolina, Sir, casts her eight votes for James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania. [Loud applause.]

The State of Georgia being then called, Mr. Gardner said: The Georgia delegation, Sir, came here pledged to the support of the gentleman for whom her vote was first cast, and for whom her warm and cordial sympathies were enlisted. Next to him, the delegation, or at least a large portion of them, thought it their duty to come to the support of Judge Douglas, of Illinois. They considered it their duty to do so, in view of the fact that this gentleman had manfully battled for great constitutional and conservative principles. But we love not Pierce and Douglas alone; we have a warm and cordial Southern heart for James Buchanan. From the broad ocean's shore—from the mid-land counties of the State—from its mountains and its valleys, with a loud and exulting shout of triumph, the Democracy will come forward in support of James Buchanan; and we pledge to him the ten electoral votes of Georgia. [Applause.]

The State of Alabama was then called by the Secretary. Mr. Chapman, of Alabama, said: I hope, Sir, I shall be indulged by the Convention while I make a brief statement in regard to the position of Alabama. The delegation from that State came here united in support of Franklin Pierce. After he was withdrawn, they voted for Stephen A. Douglas. These votes, Sir, were not given on account of any hostility to the distinguished son of Pennsylvania, but because those gentlemen were, in our opinion, more immediately identified with the new question which has recently arisen. There is no State in the Union where the son of Pennsylvania is held in higher esteem and honor than the one from which I come. We still have confidence in him; he is still a favorite of Alabama. We have seen the unanimity with which the delegation from Pennsylvania have come to the support of our platform of principles, and this alone would be sufficient to impart confidence in the candidate they have presented to the Convention. We remember, too, that in the last Convention, James Buchanan was the first choice of Alabama; we remember that he was the favorite candidate of the lamented William R. King, who was associated on the same ticket with Franklin Pierce. And, humble as I am, I claim that no one excels me in confidence and esteem for the eminent statesman for whom Alabama is about to cast her vote. Not reluctantly, but with pleasure she gives her votes to James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania. [Cheers.]

The Secretary then called Mississippi, when Mr. Clayton, for the Mississippi delegation, said that by the vote of Mississippi, now about to be given, she desired to give one more evidence of her devotion to Democratic principles. She had thus far voted first for Pierce, next for Douglas, because she regarded them as the exponents and embodiment of her principles; but she never had any opposition to Mr. Buchanan. Four years ago she had voted for him twenty-seven times in the Baltimore Convention. She now again casts her vote for him, with a pledge that her people will ratify it by six thousand majority.

Mr. Matthews, of Mississippi, added: I desire to state, Sir, that Mississippi, in casting her vote first for Franklin Pierce, and then for Judge Douglas, wishes not to be understood as having any opposition to Pennsylvania's favorite son. She voted for those gentlemen as representatives of that great principle which claims to lie at the very foundation of American liberty. She did not for a moment suppose Mr. Buchanan to be opposed to that principle; but she considered Mr. Pierce and Mr. Douglas to be more intimately identified with it. Mississippi will support the nominee. With pride and pleasure she will take up the banner which the Democracy have entrusted to the hands of James Buchanan, and carry it in triumph through nearly every county in the State. Mississippi casts her seven votes for James Buchanan. [Loud cheering.]

President.—Let Louisiana be called.

Secretary.—Louisiana.

Gov. Marston.—Louisiana, as heretofore, casts her six votes for James Buchanan.

Ohio was next called, and she answered by Mr. Medary: It is with great pleasure, I announce to you, Mr. President, and the honorable

delegates to this Convention, that Ohio has no longer to cast fractional votes. With the platform that you have given us as a bond of union for the Democracy of this great country, we are willing to fight under any leader that this Convention may select for us. I assure you, Mr. President, that as a personal friend of that Little Giant of the northwest, for whom so many of us have cast our votes, or for whom I am willing to do battle even single-handed, that no one will yield more pleasantly to the decision of the Convention; and I can speak also for the whole of the delegation with which I am associated, and that none will more readily and zealously support the nominee presented to us to-day. I pledge you, in behalf of the Democracy of Ohio, that as they have been so exact in casting their vote here, they will be equally exact in casting their whole vote for James Buchanan, and though divided here, they will be united at the polls, and will not consider their duty discharged till they have deposited their whole vote in the ballot box; and they will carry the State next November by at least twenty-five thousand majority. They will unite not only with their neighbors in Pennsylvania, but will stretch out their hands to the extreme South, the West and the East, to meet their Democratic brethren, and to assist in giving the death-blow to fanaticism in this country. Ohio casts her twenty-three votes for James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania. [Tremendous cheers.]

Kentucky, when her name was called, through Gov. Wickliffe, said: Kentucky, though she cannot promise her thousands in November next, yet she says to the Democracy of the Union now, that when the hour of battle arrives, she will give a majority to James Buchanan, for whom she now casts her 12 votes.

The Secretary then called Tennessee, and Mr. Bate, of Tennessee, said: We came here, gentlemen of the Convention, representing the spirit of the Democracy of Jackson and of Polk. I wish to state, on behalf of the Democracy of Tennessee, that they voted for the distinguished individual who now occupies the Executive chair, as the representative of the great principle which now presents the prominent issue before the country, and afterward, for the same reason, testified their appreciation of the eminent gentleman who introduced the measure. Tennessee, Sir, has not cast her vote for a Democratic candidate for the Presidency, since she voted for her own son, the illustrious Jackson. But standing here now, the representative, in part, of the Democracy of Tennessee, I promise that she will give for the nominee of this Convention, a Democratic majority of ten thousand votes. While here, we have cast the vote of Tennessee as a unit. There has been some division of opinion in the delegation. We now, however, give a heartfelt and entire vote to James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania.

Secretary.—Indiana.

Judge Borden.—Thirteen votes for James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, now, and the same in November next.

Illinois was then called for, and Col. Richardson rose, in behalf of that State, and responded as follows: I am instructed by the delegation from the State of Illinois, to return to this Convention their heartfelt acknowledgements for the complimentary vote their distinguished son has received; and above and beyond all to return their thanks that

while he has received one hundred and twenty-two votes as a candidate for the Presidency, before the highest tribunal known to the Democratic party; the adoption of the great principle embodied in that platform, which received the assent of every member of the Committee on Resolutions, and of every member of the Convention, has endorsed the political opinions of Stephen A. Douglas. While he has been complimented by that vote, the fact that the principles for which he has battled in the Senate and before the whole country, are made by the Democratic party the leading principles of its political faith, is a still higher compliment, which might excite sentiments of pride in the bosom of any man. We have come here, Sir, animated by no sectional spirit. We have come here in the full belief that the spirit of the Democratic party resides in its principles more than in its men. We have come to say to the Democratic party all over this Union that, as in times past, the Democratic banner has never been torn in Illinois, so it will not be torn in November next. Illinois joins her voice to the voices of the delegates of the other States, and casts her eleven votes for James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania.

Missouri was then called, and Mr. W. A. Harris answered: That before he cast the vote of his State, he was instructed to offer a few words of explanation. He said that it was known to the Convention that although the vote of Missouri had been cast as a unit for Judge Douglas, that there were on that delegation many friends of President Pierce, and also a large minority who preferred Mr. Buchanan as their first choice. Yet, having determined among themselves not to depart from the list of names before the Convention, they had from the beginning decided to vote for Mr. Pierce, or Mr. Douglas or Mr. Buchanan, till the one or the other was nominated. Mr. Douglas has endeared himself to the State of Missouri and to the whole country, in manfully standing up for all the great principles of the Constitution, in justly interpreting and enforcing all its guarantees and powers, with a constancy and fidelity never surpassed by any statesman of the country. But it was by his authorship of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and his arguments of transcendent ability and eloquence in its support, and the moral heroism with which he has constantly met and vanquished the enemies of our peace, and the enemies of our Union, that he has established himself in the hearts and affections of the people. But, in a spirit of manly self-denial, he has directed his friends to withdraw his name from the list of those now before the Convention for nomination. We surrender him, therefore, to be warmed and cherished in the hearts of the people, to still further add to his glorious record of sound statesmanship, until his countrymen call upon him for the performance of still greater duties in higher spheres.

Thus, then, we are free to cast our united vote for him who, from the beginning and for many years, was the honored and long-cherished first choice of a large minority of us—a statesman of the greatest talents and ability, the most enlarged experience, and the most pre-eminent qualifications for the high office of President of the United States. His record of forty years is but the record of his wisdom and services as

a statesman, his ability and sagacity as a diplomatist, and his devotion to the Union and the rights of the States. It is a record without a blemish and without a stain. The hearts of his countrymen are warmed and drawn to him with a force and a fervor which will bear him with shouts and acclamations into the Presidential chair. Being one of his original, ardent and long-devoted friends, my delegation has kindly accorded to me the grateful pleasure of casting our unanimous vote for that noble son of a noble State, James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania.

President—Call *Arkansas*.

Secretary—Arkansas !

Mr. Flournoy, of Arkansas—It is known, sir, to this Convention, that the delegation from Arkansas came here instructed to cast their vote for the present Executive, Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire. In accordance with those instructions, they faithfully adhered to him until they saw he no longer had a chance to obtain the nomination of the Convention. They then came enthusiastically and harmoniously to the support of the Little Giant of Illinois. They have voted for him since that time, and wherever his banner was seen to float, there were we seen to battle. But, sir, we have had no factious opposition to make to any candidate. Our vote was merely the expression of a personal preference. It was well known to us, and well appreciated, that James Buchanan was a pure patriot and a great man, and that he was in every way worthy of our support and our vote. While, for a time, we did battle against him, we never meant our vote to go beyond the circle of the three names which were originally presented to this Convention, and we always intended, whenever there should be a firm and decided majority in favor of Mr. Buchanan, to show that we were animated by no factious spirit of opposition, and to add our vote to those of his supporters. We are now as enthusiastic friends of Mr. Buchanan as can be found on this floor. There is, sir, an anecdote in history which would well illustrate the position of Arkansas. When the Prince and Princess of Armenia were captured by Cyrus, and led out to receive the sentence of death or of banishment that might be imposed on them by the conqueror, and the Prince was asked what he had to say why sentence should not be pronounced, he answered that for himself he had nothing to say, but for the Princess he asked that she might be permitted to return to her own country—"as for me," he said, "do with me as you please." After she had returned, when all were expressing admiration for Cyrus, who was said to be the man of most gallant bearing in the world, the Princess was asked what she thought of him. She replied that she had never seen him. When surprise was manifested that she, who had been in his presence, had not seen him, she answered that she had no eyes except for the man who had been willing to sacrifice his own life to save hers. Thus, sir, it is with Arkansas. From this time till November, she will have no eyes except for James Buchanan. I pledge myself that, in November next, she will give for him in proportion to her vote a larger majority than any other State in the Union. And, sir, as I am always willing to back my judgment, I will bet a banner, to be worked by the fairest hands in Arkansas, that such will be the case.

Many members—We take the bet.

Mr. Flournoy—Well, sir, the banners will be ready to send to the States that win them, and I predict that after the election, we shall be overwhelmed with flags from every State in the Union. As I have said, we have hitherto been opposed to the nominee of this Convention, but our opposition has been guided by dignity and moderation. We expect—and we have some reason to expect it—that we shall meet with noble and generous conquerors, and that some little favor will be extended to us when we express a choice for the second office in the gift of the Convention. I now cast the four votes of Arkansas for James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania.

Secretary : Michigan !

Mr. ——— : Michigan still casts her six votes for James Buchanan.
Secretary : *Florida* !

Response : Florida casts her three votes for James Buchanan.

When the vote of Texas was called, Mr. Waelder, of Texas, said :

Mr. President : In 1852, when the final vote of the National Convention was taken, Texas had no speech to make, neither does she desire to impose a long speech upon the Convention of 1856 ; but, sir, as chairman of the Texas delegation, I desire to say these few words :

Heretofore the State of Texas has cast her four votes, first for Franklin Pierce, next for Stephen A. Douglas. In thus casting her vote, she did not regard James Buchanan as less pure, as less true to our common Constitution ; but, sir, she voted for Franklin Pierce and Stephen A. Douglas, because they had been more actively engaged in the struggle which has of late convulsed every section of our country.

We heartily concur in the nomination of James Buchanan. As the Democracy of Pennsylvania have heretofore done battle for the constitutional rights of the South, and of every section of the Union, so the Democracy of the “ Lone Star ” do battle for that favorite, noble son of the “ Keystone of the Arch.” Sir, from the flowered prairies of the South-west we extend the Democratic hand of fellowship to the Democracy of every section of this Union.

As to the vote of Texas on the first Monday of November next, I will make no pledges. But that our majority for the Democratic cause will out-rival even that of the native State of the nominee, in proportion to the population of the two States, I have no doubt.

I now cast the four votes of the State of Texas (and I do so with great pleasure) for James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania.

Iowa next cast her four votes for James Buchanan.

Wisconsin being called : Five votes for James Buchanan.

The Secretary then called for California, when she answered as follows :

Mr. Inge, of California—Mr. President : California came here for the purpose of giving a frank, loyal and united support to the eminent statesman who is now receiving by general acclaim from this Convention the enthusiastic tribute of generous hearts, vindicating him as their unanimous choice for a position higher in moral grandeur than the loftiest of the imperial thrones of this Earth.

The expression of preference for Mr. Buchanan, on the part of our State Convention, left the delegation in no doubt as to the course pro-

per for them to pursue. But the State Convention, at the same time that it expressed, in distinct terms, its preference for Buchanan, virtually instructed us to obtain from this National Convention of the great Democratic party, a full endorsement of the policy of a safe and speedy communication, through our own territory, between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of this confederacy. It must be conceded that no achievement of American arms or diplomacy, has redounded more to the prosperity and glory of our country than the acquisition of California. [Here Mr. Inge was called to order by the President, who remarked, that he was traveling beyond the record, and could not proceed without the unanimous consent of the Convention. Cries of leave! leave! accompanied with applause, from all parts of the hall, invited the Speaker to proceed with his remarks, who continued as follows :

I am deeply grateful to this Convention for the consideration accorded to the distant State of California. This Convention remembers, Mr. President, that we have traveled six thousand miles, traversing two oceans, and braving the fiery sun and the deadly malaria of the tropics, to meet our democratic brothers here, and to aid in this glorious consummation. [Applause.] The acquisition of California, as I have said, was justly regarded as the most brilliant achievement of the American arms. To accomplish it much of the most precious blood of the republic has been shed, and millions of treasure have been lavishly expended. From the year 1800, from the days of Jefferson to the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the acquisition of that territory, has been a paramount object of American diplomacy. It has ever been the dream of our statesmen, and an object dear to the hearts of our people to make America an ocean-bound republic. [Applause.]

Well sir, that country has been acquired. She is now a member of our ocean-bound confederacy—the brightest star in the glorious constellation of American States. [Applause.] There she lies before you sir, filled with an industrious and energetic population; with her vast commercial and agricultural resources; and with a climate, whose geniality attests, more than any other creation of Omnipotent power, the beneficence of God to his creatures. Above all she is distinguishable from her sisters, by the golden treasures, sparkling in exhaustless profusion upon her surface, and which lie embedded in her snow-capped mountains. But with all these facts entitling California to the favorable consideration of the federal government, after having been a sovereign member of the confederacy for nearly six years, after contributing five hundred millions of dollars to the wealth of the country. What has been done to facilitate communication between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the confederacy? California, at this day, remains isolated in position, and practically out of the Union, by the failure of Congress to establish the means of an overland communication. On this subject the masses of the American people are united. State legislatures, mass meetings, the press of the country with its thousand tongues, have urged upon Congress prompt and efficient legislation, for the attainment of this great national object. Look, for a moment, at her present condition. The route across the plains, infested with hostile Indians, is no longer open to the adventurous march of the emigrant. In Nicaragua civil war rages; in the midst of which there

is no protection to life or property. The emigrant can only pass there, between files of contending soldiers, and with feet stained with human blood. At Panama, the brutal and savage negro, animated by the hope of plunder, have recently assailed our unarmed countrymen, inflicting death indiscriminately. Upon both the Isthmus routes, danger, disease and death stand in frightful array along the pathway of the emigrant. Sir, we ask that the federal government may exercise all its constitutional power, to provide a safe and speedy communication over our own territory between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of this Union. A resolution embracing that policy, has been laid on the table by a vote of this Convention, the delegation from Pennsylvania, voting aye upon the motion to lay upon the table. With the vote of Pennsylvania, thus recorded, against a policy so vital to the interests of our State, the delegation from California have not felt it consistent with their own self respect, or with the dignity of the State which they have the honor to represent, to cast their votes for James Buchanan. But they have assurances now, that Mr. Buchanan does not concur in the opposition to that measure, indicated by the votes of the Pennsylvania delegation, and we therefore cordially acquiesce in his nomination, and pledge our State to his support. Sir, we do more, we pledge her to an overwhelming majority. When the shouts of victory from the East boom across the plains and ascend the lofty summits of the Cordilleras, they will be met by responsive shouts of triumph from the golden valleys of the Pacific State. [Tremendous applause.]

[Subsequently the proposition for an overland communication, within our own territory between the Atlantic and Pacific, was voted upon, directly, by the Convention, the Pennsylvania delegation voting unanimously against laying the same on the table; and, on its final passage a portion of said delegation voted for, and a portion against its adoption; said proposition having been carried; ayes 205, noes 87.]

The President of the Convention—Gentlemen: The result of the seventeenth ballot is as follows: James Buchanan has received 296 votes, which being the whole vote cast, and the entire vote of the Convention, I announce with pleasure, that James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, is unanimously nominated as the Democratic candidate for President of the United States. [Vociferous cheering; long continued.]

Here shouts were raised for Col. Black, of Pennsylvania; whereupon after silence was restored, the Hon. Samuel Black rose and spoke as follows:

Col. Samuel W. Black, of Pennsylvania—Mr. President: At the unanimous request of the Pennsylvania delegation, I rise to express their thanks for the high honor conferred upon our State, in the unanimous vote of this Convention, now recorded for James Buchanan. I do not design, sir, to weary the well tried patience of this assembly with a set speech. Your labors have been protracted and severe. It is desirable and just that we should bring them to a speedy and harmonious conclusion. Pennsylvania, in whose name and stead I am permitted to speak, offers from her heart, to every other state of the confederacy, this public acknowledgment of deep and sincere gratitude. Every portion of our country is here represented. I do not say sec-

tion, for, sir, with the Democracy of Pennsylvania that term is abhorred, and the spirit of sectionalism is a by-word and reproach. We recognize, and will forever maintain and defend every several right of every sovereign State of the American Union. And we will vindicate, with the same spirit that leads us to assert the sovereign rights of our own State, the rights of the people of every territory to settle for themselves their own form of Government—to choose their own Democratic institutions and to manage them according to the council and pleasure of their own will—they, like as we do, submitting in all things to the guidance and control of the Constitution of the United States. We believe that sentiments similar to these will form amongst the American people a prevailing and perpetual bond of Union. Universal confidence and kindness will take the place of distrust and jealousy. It is only by an open and manly recognition of the rights that belong to every State and Territory, that we can hope for a peaceful perpetuity to our Union.

That we may attest our earnestness, Pennsylvania, in the presence of her country's star-lit flag, and in his presence who is the pattern of his country and the father also to the Constitution, though not its author, we renew our vows of fidelity to the Union and the Constitution. (A portrait of Washington, festooned with flags, was directly in front of the speaker).

If the evil day should come, which God mercifully avert, when we should see the rights of any State abused or crushed, her appeal to Pennsylvania will not be in vain. If she is feeble, her weakness will strengthen our attachment and love. Our beloved State will say from the heart to the heart—"Entreat me not to leave thee, nor to return from following after thee; where thou goest I will go, where thou lodgest I will lodge, thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God. Where thou diest I will die, and there will I be buried. The Lord do so to me and mine also, if aught but death part thee and me." (Great emotion and applause).

But, sir, I have wandered from my duty, and returning to it I renew our thanks to every State represented in this Convention. Before I close allow me to vindicate Pennsylvania's favorite son against the charge of having failed in that higher duty which every man owes to himself, to society and to the sweeter sex. Mr. Buchanan, we confess, is a bachelor. But the reason is a complete vindication as will, I am sure, satisfy every gentleman here present. It is this—as soon as James Buchanan was old enough to marry, he became wedded to the Constitution of his country, and the laws of Pennsylvania do not allow a man to have more than one wife.

For some time the cheers, long and loud, from without, and the roar of cannon, had announced that along the telegraphic wires the glad news was streaming to every part of the Republic that James Buchanan was the unanimous choice of the American Democracy for President of the United States.

After the vote had been duly recorded, there was such a general sensation, that it was difficult to proceed with other business.

B. F. Hallett, from the Committee on Resolutions, reported the following :

Resolved, That the administration of Franklin Pierce has been true to the great interests of the country. In the face of the most determined opposition it has maintained the laws, enforced economy, fostered progress, and infused integrity and vigor into every department of the government at home. It has signally improved our treaty relations, extended the field of commercial enterprise, and vindicated the rights of American citizens abroad. It has asserted with eminent impartiality the just claims of every section, and has at all times been faithful to the Constitution. We therefore proclaim our unqualified approbation of its measures and its policy.

Adopted, with long and rapturous applause, and unanimously.

The Committee on Resolutions, to whom was referred the resolution submitted by the delegation for Virginia, have instructed their Chairman to ask that they be discharged from its further consideration.

June 5, 1856.

B. F. HALLETT, *Chairman*.

Which Report was concurred in.

H. B. Wright, of Pennsylvania, with remarks, offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the proceedings in this Convention, relating to the conflicting delegations from the State of New York, be stricken from the record thereof, and that we earnestly recommend to both delegations here present to unite in a call for a single State Convention to nominate an electoral ticket and ticket for State officers.

The following are the remarks of Mr. Beardsley, Mr. Ludlow and Governor Seymour, of New York, upon the resolution offered by Mr. Wright, of Pennsylvania, to expunge from the reports of the Committee on Credentials all but the resolutions in the New York case :

Mr. Beardsley rose deliberately and said—For the representatives of our section of the Democracy of New York, I am ready to avow here, that they have every wish to unite the Democracy of New York on sound principles, and to sustain the nomination made here and all who stand firmly on the platform which has been erected by the Convention. They, sir, have no reproaches to make. They honestly agree to act as they believe to be the wish of their brethren throughout the Union, and they entertain the firm conviction that the vote of New York will exhibit a glorious Democratic victory at the coming election. I have said enough to show what we feel, and I do not mean to imply a doubt that our brethren in New York will participate in these feelings, and act in accordance with the pledge we have given.

Mr. Ludlow—On behalf of the delegation which I have the honor to represent, I most cordially and most heartily reciprocate the sentiments avowed by the Chairman of the other delegation. Sir, I congratulate the Democracy of New York ; I congratulate the Democracy of Pennsylvania ; I congratulate the Democracy of the whole Union, that the proposition has been introduced by the gentleman who has been representing Pennsylvania on this floor. The introduction of that resolution is a pledge on the part of the friends of Mr. Buchanan that whatever differences may have grown up, are eradicated forever. By the adoption of that resolution, New York stands pledged next fall to elect the Democratic nominee. As an accompaniment to that resolution, not as an amendment, but I hope it will be accepted by the mover of the resolution now before the Convention, I have one in my hand, which I wish to offer. Divided as we have been, it may give rise to some embarrassment in New York to choose a member of the National Committee. I propose that the election of that member may be referred to the next State Convention held under that resolution.

Which proposition being opposed by Mr. Beardsley, of N. Y., was,

at the request of Horatio Seymour, of N. Y., and others, withdrawn by Mr. Ludlow, and the original resolution unanimously adopted.

Thereupon the Convention adjourned until 2 o'clock, P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION, JUNE 6, 1856.

At 2 o'clock the Convention was called to order.

Mr. Shields, of Missouri, rose and said—Mr. President, I have been unanimously instructed by the Delegation from Missouri to offer in their name, the resolution which I now send to the Clerk's table to be read, and I ask this Convention to adopt the same, not only as an act of justice to the Great West and our Pacific brethren, but as a measure to bind more closely together our wide-spread Union in enduring bonds. It has been framed with a view to secure, if possible, the unanimous approval of this body. The President decided that under the rules, the resolution must go, without debate, to the Committee on Resolutions. The resolution was as follows :—

Resolved, That it is the duty of the Federal Government to construct, so far as it has constitutional power so to do, a safe overland communication within our own territory between the Pacific and Atlantic States.

Mr. Saunders of Wisconsin—I offer the following amendment to the resolution of the gentleman from Missouri, and I move that the Committee on Resolutions be instructed to report it back to the Convention with the recommendation that the same be adopted.

Resolved, That the Democratic party recognizes the great importance, in a political and commercial point of view, of a safe and speedy communication through our own territory between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the Union, and that it is the duty of the Federal Government to exercise all its constitutional power to the attainment of that object, thereby binding the Union of these States in indissoluble bonds, and opening to the rich commerce of Asia an overland transit from the Pacific to the Mississippi River, and the great lakes of the North.

Here Gov. Chapman raised a point of order, viz.: that under the special order of the Convention we must now proceed to the nomination of Vice President.

President—There is no such special order.

Mr. Thompson, of Mississippi, moved to lay the whole subject on the table.

Mr. Shields accepted the resolution of the gentleman of Wisconsin, as an amendment of his own.

On the motion to lay on the table, the votes by States being taken, resulted as follows—Ayes 74, nays 220.

AYES—New Hampshire 4, Massachusetts 1, Rhode Island 2, Connecticut 4, New Jersey 7, Delaware 1, Virginia 15, North Carolina 10, South Carolina 8, Georgia 7, Mississippi 7, Ohio 6, Tennessee 1, Florida 3—74.

NAYS—Maine 8, New Hampshire 1, Vermont 5, Massachusetts 12, Rhode Island 2, Connecticut 2, New York 35, Pennsylvania 27, Delaware 2, Maryland 8, Georgia 31, Alabama 9, Louisiana 6, Ohio 17, Kentucky 12, Tennessee 11, Indiana 13, Illinois 11, Missouri 9,

Arkansas 4, Michigan 6, Texas 4, Iowa 4, Wisconsin 5, California 4—220.

So the motion to lay on the table was lost.

Mr. Phelps of Missouri—If my friend from Michigan will withdraw his motion, which is out of order, I will move to suspend the rules, which will bring the Convention to a direct vote on the resolution itself.

President—The motion of the gentleman from Wisconsin is out of order—does he give way for the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. Saunders—I withdraw my motion, and make that suggested by the gentleman from Missouri—that the rules be suspended.

The vote was called for by States, and was as follows :—

AYES—Maine 8, New Hampshire 1, Vermont 5, Massachusetts 11, Rhode Island 2, Connecticut 3, New York 35, Pennsylvania 6, Delaware 2, Maryland 8, Georgia 3, Alabama 9, Missouri 7, Louisiana 6, Ohio 19, Kentucky 12, Tennessee 11, Indiana 13, Illinois 11, Missouri 9, Arkansas 4, Michigan 6, Texas 4, Iowa 4, Wisconsin 5, California 4—208.

NAYS—New Hampshire 4, Massachusetts 2, Rhode Island 2, Connecticut 3, New Jersey 7, Pennsylvania 21, Delaware 1, Virginia 15, North Carolina 10, South Carolina 8, Georgia 7, Ohio 4, Tennessee 1, Florida 3—88.

So the rules were suspended, by a vote of two-thirds.

Mr. Inge, of California, then moved the adoption of the resolution, and on this motion called for the previous question.

The call for the previous question being sustained, the vote was taken on the resolution, and resulted as follows :—

AYES—Maine 8, New Hampshire 1, Vermont 5, Massachusetts 11, Rhode Island 2, Connecticut 3, New York 35, Pennsylvania 6, Delaware 1, Maryland 8, Georgia 6, Alabama 9, Mississippi 7, Louisiana 6, Ohio 14, Kentucky 12, Tennessee 11, Indiana 13, Illinois 11, Missouri 9, Arkansas 4, Michigan 6, Texas 4, Iowa 4, Wisconsin 5, California 4—205.

NAYS—New Hampshire 4, Massachusetts 2, Rhode Island 2, Connecticut 3, New Jersey 7, Pennsylvania 21, Delaware 1, Virginia 15, North Carolina 10, South Carolina 8, Georgia 4, Ohio 6, Tennessee 1, Florida 3—87.

So the resolution was adopted by the Convention.

Mr. Phelps, of Missouri—I now move to reconsider the vote adopting the resolution, and move further that said motion be laid on the table, so as to clinch the passage of said resolution. Adopted.

The President then announced that the next business in order was the nominations for Vice President.

Mr. C. A. Wickliffe, of Kentucky, arose and said, I am instructed unanimously by the delegation to present to the Convention, for the second office in the gift of the Democracy, that tried Democrat of their own State, Linn Boyd, of Kentucky. [Loud applause.]

Thomas L. Harris, of Illinois.—Mr. President: By the unanimous vote of the delegation from Illinois, I present to the Convention for the Vice Presidency the name of a gentleman who, though born on the banks of the Hudson, now lives on the banks of the Mississippi. He

was a gentleman of whom the whole nation was proud; who was equally distinguished for the boldness, as for the goodness of his heart; whose nature was as warm and affectionate as it was true and gallant. I have had the honor to serve under him in the perilous scenes of a fierce conflict in a hostile and distant land, and I can bear personal testimony to his patriotism, his fidelity to duty, his dauntless bravery—he was ever foremost where danger and duty called. He it was who so nobly led the gallant volunteers of his country through such appalling dangers into the very heart of the enemy's capital, and there first, on one of the loftiest citadels of the Montezumas, planted the banner of the Republic. This name, which Illinois, with her unanimous voice and all her heart, presented to the Convention for the Vice Presidency, was John A. Quitman, of Mississippi. [Immense and prolonged applause.]

Gen. J. L. Lewis, of Louisiana, was instructed by his delegation to present the name of John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, for the Vice Presidency. [Applause.]

Mr. Breckinridge arose amid great applause. It was some time before the cheering ceased and he could be heard. He said :

Mr. President : How can I adequately express my gratitude to the noble State of Louisiana, for this flattering manifestation of their good will ? But, Sir, I have always held that promotion should follow seniority. Besides, I am already a candidate for the votes of the people, having been designated by the Democracy as the elector in my district, and expect soon to enter upon an active campaign—to traverse the valleys and climb the mountains of my native State, in behalf of the distinguished and noble candidate we have already selected for the Presidency, and, in advocacy of the glorious State Rights Platform, which we have adopted with such signal unanimity. There is still another reason why my name should not be pressed for this high post. The delegation of my own State, with which I cordially concur, have already presented the name of one of her sons—a tried and able champion of Democracy—for this very office. I can never consent that my name should be placed in opposition to, or my merits in competition with his. I beg, therefore, with grateful acknowledgements for the high compliment offered me by the delegation from Louisiana, that my name may be withdrawn. [Great applause.]

Mr. Chapman, of Alabama—Mr. President : In behalf of the Alabama delegation, I am proud to present for the consideration of the Convention, the name of one of her tried and talented statesmen; one who has already—in the high office he so worthily fills—evinced his fidelity to the faith of the Democracy; I name Benjamin Fitzpatrick. With such a name associated with that of Pennsylvania's great and wise statesman, Alabama, in the next contest, will roll up a majority of fifteen thousand. In answer to the objection that the last Vice President was taken from Alabama, I would remind the Convention of the melancholy event by which the nation was deprived of the services of that distinguished statesman, so long the intimate and confidential friend of James Buchanan. [Applause.]

A delegate from Tennessee nominated A. V. Brown, and spoke of his fidelity to the Democracy for thirty years; his intimacy and cor-

dial co-operation with Jackson and Polk, and declared that, with his name, the Democratic party would, in the next election, achieve one of the most brilliant triumphs in the history of political victories.

Mr. Wilson, of South Carolina—Mr. President: In behalf of the delegation of South Carolina, I beg to present to the Convention the name of one of the distinguished sons of the Old Dominion, whom genius, eloquence and sound Democracy commend him to the people, as the man for the high position for which we are now about to nominate the candidate. Sir, I allude to James A. Seddon. [Great applause.]

Jas. A. Seddon of Virginia—Mr. President, I appreciate profoundly the honor conferred by the nomination just made, and am especially gratified by the source whence it has proceeded. To receive the approving plaudits of the "gallant Percy of the South" is inestimably grateful to my feelings, and till my heart's last throb must be borne in indelible remembrance. I must, however, decline the nomination tendered, and beg the honorable gentleman to withdraw my name from the candidacy. The Virginia delegation, with my entire assent, have concurred in the sentiment that, considering the circumstances under which she has acted and the position she has occupied in relation to the nomination for the Presidency, it would be more consistent with her dignity and honor that no son of hers should be placed in nomination for the Vice-President. In addition, I may add as my private judgment, that it would be more judicious and disinterested that no nomination for the Vice-Presidency should be made from among the delegates to the nominating body. In deference, therefore, both to the ascertained sentiment of my co-delegates and to my personal conviction, I beg, with all respect to the gallant State proposing me, that my name be withdrawn, and I am happy to be able to illustrate in my own case the principle of disinterestedness commended by my State and my own judgment.

Mr. Avery, of North Carolina—I am instructed by the delegation of North Carolina to call the attention of the Convention to the merits and qualifications of one of her distinguished sons, whose ability and high administrative talents have been so conspicuously displayed in that department of the Executive Government which is most intimately connected with the interest and feelings of the people. North Carolina was a modest State; she rarely obtruded her pretensions on her brothers of other States; but the great attainments, eminent services and wide popularity of her son, induced her delegation now to present his name for the second office in the gift of the Democracy. North Carolina presented the name of James C. Dobbin. [Loud cheers.]

Mr. Underwood, of Georgia—Mr. President: Since the Government was established, Georgia has had but three Cabinet or executive offices in the Government. Her recent brilliant triumphs for the Democracy give some claims to be considered in the choice of the candidate for at least the second office in the Government, I will, therefore, present the name of one of her sons who, in two of the severest political battles ever fought in the State, bore with his stalwart arm and dauntless heart the flag of Democracy to glorious victory, that man who had met one of the fiercest and most dangerous factions that ever raised its grim front in the land, and sent it howling back to its den.

I propose the name of Herschell V. Johnson. [Loud applause.]

Mr. Moore, of Maine, presented the name, and gave the eight votes of his State for Thomas J. Rusk, of Texas.

A delegate from Texas said that, while the delegation from Texas felt highly honored in having her favorite son named for the Vice-Presidency, they felt it their duty to that distinguished citizen to beg that his name be withdrawn. General Rusk had recently received the unanimous vote of the Legislature of his State for the United States Senate, and he felt it to be his duty to remain at his post and fulfill the wishes and guard the honor and interests of his State in that important sphere.

Mr. G. Salisbury, of Delaware, nominated Jas. A. Bayard, of his State, for the Vice-Presidency.

Mr. W. Salisbury, of Delaware—I nominate that eminent son of Delaware, and distinguished Democrat of Missouri, the standard-bearer of its gallant Democracy, Trusten Polk.

Mr. Phelps, of Missouri: Missouri highly appreciates this compliment to her distinguished citizen, coming as it does from his native State; but that gentleman had already been placed in nomination by the Democracy of Missouri for the Governorship of the State. He was already in the field, and the Democracy of Missouri could not spare him for any other post. He begged, therefore, that his name might be withdrawn.

In that State the contest is a peculiar one. Our geographical position and the strange effort made there by those upon whose pretensions this Convention has already passed, demands that the eloquent voice of our nominee for Governor shall continue to be heard, arousing her true Democracy as by a trumpet blast to the great battle, in which all friends of the Constitution and Union are now to engage under the national championship of the honored son of Pennsylvania. The Democracy of Missouri, by acclamation, put their standard into his hands—they mean to respond with enthusiasm to his appeals. Only a few weeks are to elapse before the election. It is too late for them in that vast State to change front now, by substitution of a new Gubernatorial candidate. Knowing his devotion to the cause, as manifested in the self-sacrifice he made, in consenting to bear our State banner, notwithstanding the situation of his private affairs, and knowing that his pure patriotism always beats exultant to the call of duty, regardless of self, the Missouri Delegation, profoundly thankful for the warm regard expressed by his native State, as well as others, beg his friends from Delaware to withdraw his name. Missouri, in her State election, must meet the first shock of the conflict. It is important that she should meet it triumphantly. The Democracy of the Union need Trusten Polk where he now is, and where Missouri has placed him. [Cheers.]

The President.—The Convention will now proceed to ballot for a candidate for the Vice Presidency. The Secretary will call the States.

Maine.—Rusk, 8 votes.

New Hampshire.—Quitman, 1; Fitzpatrick, 2; Dobbin, 2.

When Vermont was called, Mr. Smalley said—The delegation of Vermont believing that no Democrat has a right to refuse his services when his country calls, have instructed me to cast the five votes of Vermont for the talented, accomplished and eloquent son of Kentucky, John C. Breckinridge. [Loud applause.]

John C. Breckinridge, 5.

Massachusetts—Quitman, 1; Fitzpatrick, 2; Brown, 6; Johnson, 1; Bayard, 1; Rusk, 2.
 Rhode Island—Johnson, 4.
 Connecticut—Johnson, 6.
 New York—Quitman, 7; Bayard, 18.
 New Jersey—Boyd, 2; Polk, 5.
 Pennsylvania—Butler, 27.
 Delaware—Bayard, 3.
 Maryland—Johnson, 8.
 Virginia—Breckinridge, 15.
 North Carolina—Dobbin, 10.
 South Carolina—Quitman, 8.
 Georgia—Johnson, 10.
 Alabama—Fitzpatrick, 9.
 Mississippi—Quitman, 7.
 Louisiana—Breckinridge, 6.
 Ohio—Quitman, 8; Boyd, 6; Johnson, 2; Breckinridge, 7.
 Kentucky—Boyd, 12.
 Tennessee—Brown, 12.
 Indiana—Boyd, 13.
 Illinois—Quitman, 11.
 Missouri—Bayard, 9.
 Arkansas—Quitman, 4.
 Michigan—Brown, 6.
 Florida—Dobbin, 4.
 Texas—Quitman, 3; Brown, 1.
 Iowa—Breckinridge, 4.
 Wisconsin—Rusk, 5.
 California—Brown, 4.

Before the vote was announced, Maine changed her 8 votes from Rusk to Breckinridge; and New Hampshire changed her 5 votes, and cast them also for Breckinridge.

Total.—Quitman, 59; Boyd 33; Fitzpatrick, 11; Brown, 29; Dobbin, 13; Johnson, 31; Breckinridge, 51; Bayard, 31; Polk, 5; Butler, 27; Rusk, 7,

On the second ballot, Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont led off for Breckinridge—Massachusetts followed with eleven out of thirteen votes—Rhode Island followed with her four, then the New York Softs gave him eighteen. Delaware, Maryland and Virginia voting in the same way, it became quite obvious that he was the choice of the body, and though several of the remaining States voted for other candidates, they quickly, one by one, changed their votes; the several delegates making neat and appropriate speeches in announcing the change of the vote. The entire vote being polled for John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky.

Then commenced the withdrawal.

Mr. Salisbury withdrew the name of Bayard, and threw the vote of Delaware for Breckinridge.

When Connecticut was called, P. C. Childs said: Mr. President—Let the South say whom they desire for this office, and we will put him through in a minute. If they don't agree, Connecticut will put Isaac Toucey in the field.

Another delegate from Connecticut—Oh, no: we will keep Toucey for some higher game.

Chapman, of Alabama, withdrew Fitzpatrick and threw the vote of that State for Breckinridge.

Col. Bates, of Tennessee, withdrew A. V. Brown, pledging his cordial support of the ticket and declaring the vote for Breckinridge.

Governor Matthews, of Mississippi, after returning thanks to Illinois for placing Mississippi's favorite son in nomination, withdrew the name of Quitman.

All the other candidates were severally withdrawn by the gentlemen who had nominated them.

Quickly all the other States changed their votes, wheeled into line, and before the roll was concluded there was a solid column of all the delegations, and TWO HUNDRED AND NINETY-SIX votes were given for John C. Breckinridge. (Immense cheering, long continued, enthusiastic and overwhelming.)

The whole Convention rose, and with waving of handkerchiefs and and the loudest calls, directed its gaze upon the tall and graceful delegate from Kentucky, who had been so unexpectedly nominated for such an exalted post.

It was long before these demonstrations subsided so as to allow a word to be heard. At last the manly form of Mr. Breckinridge stood above the surrounding crowd, and silence and profound attention marking the aspect of the vast assembly, he spoke as follows:

Mr. President, and gentlemen of the Democratic National Convention: The result just announced is quite as unexpected to me as it could be to any gentlemen on this floor. In the inferior and personal aspect of the matter, I beg you to consider all said that ought to be said on such an occasion. I am truly and sincerely without words to convey to you my profound gratitude for such an unexpected and signal testimonial of your confidence and favor. I may say sincerely, and call upon my associates in this body to bear witness to its truth, that in my course as a member of this body, I have made no concealments of my preferences, nor used any art or taken one step toward bringing about this result.

But it is not my purpose to make a speech. I merely arose to express to you the thanks of a true heart. I may add, too, the declaration of my high appreciation of the association of my humble name with that of the distinguished and tried statesman of Pennsylvania. I

have always regarded Mr. Buchanan as the last survivor of that noble band of American statesmen and orators, whose names are associated with the brightest glories of our country, and whose deeds constitute its most cherished memorials. He has come down from that generation to transmit and guide us of the present. He has lived down calumny and detraction, and now stands forth the peerless champion of Democracy. Honored and beloved by all his countrymen, and only waiting a few months to be clothed with the highest dignity the nation and the people can confer.

The platform you have so unanimously adopted I need not, as a State-Rights man, say I cordially approve and indorse. With these true Jeffersonian principles, and with the temper of Jackson to enforce and maintain them, Democracy will enter the contest with the determination to add another to the brilliant victories which have so often crowned their efforts. It would not be appropriate to discuss any general principle or enter further upon the issues which will be involved in this contest. I will therefore conclude by expressing my purpose to devote all my heart and mind to the great duty which has been so unexpectedly conferred upon me, and to strive to justify the confidence which you have manifested. [Immense applause. Loud cheers within and without the hall.]

During the delivery of the speech of Mr. Breckinridge, the cannon of the Empire Club were thundering their approval of the nomination, and the Convention was boisterous in its applause.

When Mr. Breckinridge resumed his seat, there was a loud call for Mr. Preston of Kentucky, when that gentleman came forward and addressed the Convention in an eloquent off-hand speech, which produced the most thrilling effect.

Wm. E. Preston, of Kentucky said: Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention, I am at present laboring under much physical debility, but I can not feel insensible to the honor you have done me, by thus unexpectedly calling me to the stand. Although by this expression of your esteem, so genially given, I feel as much surprised as my friend and comrade must have been, by the great testimonial which you have but just now given by his selection—I will not say nomination—for the office of Vice-Presidency of the United States. For myself, I stand here comparatively a stranger amongst you; but he had a right by inheritance to the favorable opinions of the Democracy, and his elevation to the second office in the Government, is an auspicious augury of the return of Kentucky to the Democratic faith of her fathers. (Great applause.) It is the preliminary announcement of the return of my native State to the honored principles of the past, those principles which were in the ascendant, when John Breckinridge of Kentucky, the grand-father of the nominee, asserted with all the strength of a virtuous purpose and signal ability the celebrated resolutions of 1798, the foundation upon which yet repose the principles of the Democratic party, and their theory of the Constitution. I do not appropriate to myself personally the loud acclaims which have greeted me in this assembly, but I regard it as a generous earnest of that magnanimous regard which the Democracy have exhibited for all that true and loyal band of old Whigs whose honorable existence as a party having closed are now compelled to choose between the factions,—I will not flatter them with the name of parties,—that are struggling in unprincipled confusion for political ascendancy, and the great party of the national Democracy. I am proud to avow that I belong to those old Whigs who, revering the Constitution

of our country, look alone to its principles as the true safeguard of the Union, rather than to the bigoted and trenchant rituals of a secret organization. You know, Mr. President, the glories of the men to whom I allude. They have come forward animated alone by love of Republican freedom, and disdaining the senseless mummeries of the Know Nothing order, and the treasonable doctrine of the Black Republican party, as honorable auxiliaries, to swell the ranks that to-day array themselves under the banner of the National Democracy, and under the brilliant leadership of Buchanan and Breckinridge. (Cheers.) I feel, sir, a profound satisfaction that we came to the aid of the party now assembled, and joined its standard in the hour of darkness and peril, without terms or compromise, neither asking honors, no longer as enemies but as friends determined to stand by that party which did not hesitate to sustain the Union and the Constitution. In many an honorable field, in many a tough contest, the old Whig party, led by its venerated statesmen, have encountered the Democracy, and sometimes with success. The policy of both were based on the Constitution, and were patriotic and comprehensive, but different. No blush of shame rose either to the cheek of the victor or the vanquished party when the fight was over but a manly acquiescence in the verdict of the people was yielded to the successful party. No oaths to proscribe the friendless, no obligations to infringe religious freedom stain their history, no treasonable dogmas like those of the Black Republicans, impairing, if carried into effect, the equality of the States and violating the Constitution, marked the race, but a free and honorable difference of opinion as to the commercial, financial and domestic policy which should be pursued by the nation. Against such factions, however, it now becomes the duty of the Whig party to do battle or send in servile capitulation. It is between them and the Democracy that the old Whigs of the country are compelled to decide. My choice is made, (cheers) and when I see around me the numbers of delegates who once were members of that organization—when I see them seeking refuge in the unshaken battalions of the Democracy—when I know that two or three hundred thousand of the old Whig party share our sentiments, I cannot doubt result. It would be unjust in me, to refuse the testimony I offer to the gallant and patriotic stand made by the Democracy during the last two years of the darkest hours that threatened the country. Standing as it does this day, it is more glorious far, than at any former period of its history. It occupies a grander position than when by the foresight of Jefferson, it secured the bright and fertile plains of Louisiana, or when it added the beautiful savannahs of Texas to the Union, or when it planted in triumph our standard upon the turrets of Mexico, or when it completed the continental breadth of the empire, by giving it an ocean boundary on either side, or when it impressed the arts, the arms, the civilization and the free institutions of our people upon the golden shores of California. (Applause.) Yes, Mr. President, grander by far stands the Democratic party of to-day, than at either of those proud epochs; because in the day of gloom and disaster it courageously confronted domestic dissensions, trampled under foot the foul theory of factions, and now prepares, in this hall, by these principles, and under the leaders to-day chosen, to maintain to the last extremity those principles upon which rest the prosperity of our country and the peaceful union of these States. It is true that, remembering rather the animosities of the past than the emergencies of the present, there are some of the old Whig guard that, like John Bunyan's pilgrims, yet halt at Doubting Castle; but when the telegraph bears upon its wings the result of this day's deliberations, their cheeks will no longer be sicklied with irresolution, but they will rush to your standard and join you for the common cause of their country. (Great applause.)

Permit me to add another remark: There were in the States of the North a company of gallant men feeling the full force of constitutional obligations and recognizing the sovereign right of the States of the Confederacy both to regulate their own internal affairs and to lend the impress of our institutions to the common territory of the country, without sectional distinction, who, when Douglas, with the intrepidity of genius and the foresight of a statesman

sought to remove forever the irritating causes which for thirty years, had produced festering discontent at the North and the South, came forward as a forlorn hope, in the passage of the Nebraska-Kansas act. I shall never forget the deep emotions of respect and admiration with which I saw them repair to resist the sectional prejudices of the people they represented. It exhibited a moral grandeur worthy of the best days of the Republic. They prepared to execute at once and forever an act which was the logical consequence of the compromise of 1850, and to remove forever from the domination of Congress to the tribunals of the territories, the decision of the only great question which has disturbed the fraternal love of our country. All knew that the act was of such magnitude that it could not be performed without hearing a loud outcry of fanatics, malcontents and demagogues, but they proved themselves equal to the occasion. The tempest burst forth with all its fury; every foul element of religious rancor and hatred of race, was invoked to increase its strength. The treasonable wave of the Black Republican party united with the fierce fanaticism of the miscalled American order, swept over the land, and few were able to withstand the shock. I see many around me who were the victims of the misguided vengeance of the people. Let such men be remembered in your coming hour of victory. If they should never arise from their prostrate position, they have fallen because of their patriotism and courage, and the epitaph which marked the spot where the immortal three hundred fell at Thermopylæ, might well be inscribed to commemorate their deeds: "Go, stranger, and at Lacedæmon tell that here, obedient to her laws, we fell." But I can not believe that such injustice would ever mark the history of the Democracy. I believe that the people, when the public reason is restored, will again lift them in their arms, bind up their wounds, and amid the clangor of the approaching Presidential contest, will hail them as leaders in the greatest battle which it has ever been the fortune of the Democracy to offer in behalf of the Constitution and the union, against all comers. *The first duty of the Democracy is to restore those to honor who were the first to maintain, at all hazards, the principles and honor of the Democratic party, and whom the enemies of the Democracy first overwhelmed.*

In conclusion, I return thanks, Mr. President, once more for the high kindness with which I have been signalized by this Convention; and, in tendering co-operation and allegiance to the Democratic party, I shall attempt, as far as lies within my humble power, to ride deep into the ranks of our adversaries, and win my spurs in the approaching battle. I shall do this in no inimical spirit, but I trust with all the fervor and sincerity of a man who appreciates the priceless blessings that our Union confers, believes that they can only be preserved by regarding all our people as equal without respect to institutions or sections, and is determined while his heart beats to know no friends or political associations which do not struggle to attain this end and preserve the Union by the only means it can be preserved, which is by a strict observance of the Constitution under which we live. I thank heaven that while I stand here to-day and gaze across at the hills of my native Kentucky, I stand with a party which by the unanimous voices of the delegates of thirty-one States, has emblazoned its policy upon its banner, by the party which, by a unanimous voice, has selected its leaders—leaders of known worth, ability and patriotism, as the exponents of its ideas, and a party which is the same, both in principles and in candidates, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Canada to the Gulf—a party that stands majestic in its strength and simplicity, divided by no chain of mountains, severed by no river, while all the other contending factions that hover around it, find that Southern institutions are the boundaries of their patriotism, and the Ohio river the frontier of their nationality. (Tremendous cheering.)

Mr. Petit, of Indiana, said—Mr. President, I thank you for the honor you have done me in calling me up on this occasion. There is in the history of the past of our party but little to bring a blush mantling upon the cheek; while if we look forward there is much to beckon

onward, and invite us to new hopes, new trials, new victories and rewards. With the platform you have presented, you will march to victory, and give repose to the country.

You have crushed out the viper of a secret organization which disseminated itself through the land, poisoning the springs of liberal and virtuous political action; and you stand upon a firm foundation with your candidates before the country, certain to triumph in the approaching contest. [Mr. Petit spoke further, but in consequence of confusion upon the floor we were unable to catch his remarks.]

Mr. Richardson, of Illinois, moved that the Chair appoint a committee of nine to officially inform Messrs. Buchanan and Breckinridge of their nomination. Carried.

The President appointed the following gentlemen to constitute said Committee:—

Richardson of Illinois, Hibbard of New Hampshire, Lawrence of Rhode Island, Brown of Mississippi, Tucker of Virginia, Forsyth of Alabama, Manning of South Carolina, Preston of Kentucky, Horatio Seymour, of New York.

At the unanimous and earnest request of the Convention, the name of the President, John E. Ward, was added to the Committee as Chairman thereof.

The Special Committee appointed to select a National Committee submitted the following report:—

Resolved, That the next Democratic National Convention, be held at Charleston in the State of South Carolina.

Resolved, That the rule adopted by the Convention of 1852, and acted upon in this Convention, be the rule for the number of delegates each state shall be entitled to in the next Democratic National Convention, and that the National Committee, in calling the next Convention, shall provide seats therein for each State equal to twice the number of its electoral votes, and no more.

Resolved, That the time of holding the next Convention be designated by the Democratic National Committee, and that, in their call, the resolutions of 1852, providing for the number of delegates, be inserted as the rule for choosing delegates.

Resolved, That the National Democratic Committee cause an official report of the proceedings of this Convention to be prepared, published and distributed among members, for their respective States, and that said report shall contain a list of the names of and the post office address of each delegate, and the number of electoral votes of each State.

Resolved, That the first State Convention to be held in New York under one undivided Democratic organization, be authorized by this Convention to appoint a member of the National Committee from that State.

(Signed,)

THOS. McCREERY, *Chairman*.

W. M. PUGH, *Secretary*.

After reading the report Mr. McCreery said:—

In selecting a place for holding the next Convention, the Committee was divided between New York and Charleston. The Democracy of both have been recently distracted and divided; let this be received by them as an offering and incentive to union and continued exertion in the great Democratic cause. In the name of the Committee he presented the report.

Judge Beardsley would make an explanation as to New York with regard to this matter. It will be understood by the Convention that until quite recently the Democracy of New York to which I belong, did not comprehend that proposition by which it is intended to send

the question of the selection of a National Committeeman to the next State Convention to be held in New York. We are prepared to live up to the arrangement into which we have entered. I hope that it may have the effect of producing that harmony among us which is so much to be desired ; but I hope this Convention will not send to New York for decision the trivial matter of selecting a Committeeman. It would be a thorn in the side of the Democracy there, and likely to cause fresh irritation and disagreement. He would move that all that part of the report relating to the New York National Committeeman be stricken out.

Mr. Ludlow opposed this motion. If the matter was so trivial of itself, why should it be stricken out ? This matter relating to New York, should be sent to New York for decision. He assured them that New York had been out of communion with the Democracy of the Union too long, and they did not desire to have no committeemen for four years longer, but wished to be in communication with other States in the National Committee.

On motion of Mr. Meade, of Virginia, the following resolution was offered for the one reported by the committee on the subject :

Resolved, That each delegation report a name to the Chairman to be placed by him in a hat, and that he draw one of the names, the same to be declared duly elected a member of the Committee.

The resolution was adopted and the report was then agreed to.

Thereupon, the President requested each delegation from New York to send one name to the President's table, so that the choice might be made. The delegation represented by Judge Beardsley, submitted the name of Augustus Schell. Mr. Ludlow said those whom he represented would yield to the other members of the New York delegation the member of the committee for that State, rather than trouble the Convention with such a matter. And the President then announced that Augustus Schell was selected as the member of said committee on the part of New York.

The National Democratic Committee, as chosen, was composed of the following gentlemen :

NAMES OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

STATE.	NAME.	POST OFFICE.
Maine.....	John Babson.....	Wiscasset.
New Hampshire	John H. George.....	Concord.
Vermont	David A. Smalley.....	Burlington.
Massachusetts	James Cheever.....	Boston.
Rhode Island.....	Elisha R. Potter.....	South Kingston.
Connecticut	James T. Pratt.....	Rocky Hill.
New York.....	Augustus Schell.....	New York City.
New Jersey.....	Jacob Vanatta.....	Morristown.
Pennsylvania.....	C. L. Ward.....	Towanda.
Delaware	Wm. D. Ochiltree.....	New Castle.
Maryland.....	Richard B. Carmichael....	Centreville.
Virginia.....	Wm. H. Clark.....	Halifax Court House.
North Carolina.....	Thos. D. McDowell.....	Elizabethtown.
South Carolina.....	Benjamin H. Wilson.....	Georgetown.
Georgia.....	Wm. K. DeGraffenried.....	Macon.
Alabama	Henry D. Smith	Florence.

Mississippi.....	Wm. R. Cannon.....	Columbus.
Louisiana.....	Thomas E. P. Cottman.....	Donaldsonville.
Ohio.....	C. L. Vallandigham.....	Dayton.
Kentucky.....	George A. Caldwell.....	Louisville.
Tennessee.....	Randal W. McCavock.....	Nashville.
Indiana.....	James R. Stack.....	Huntington.
Illinois.....	Thomas Dyer.....	Chicago.
Missouri.....	John M. Krum.....	St. Louis.
Arkansas.....	Albert Rust.....	El Dorado.
Michigan.....	Jacob Besan.....	Niles.
Florida.....	A. E. Maxwell.....	Pensacola.
Texas.....	Wm. S. Oldham.....	Austin.
Iowa.....	Wm. Thompson.....	Burlington.
Wisconsin.....	Geo. B. Smith.....	Madison.
California.....	Sam'l H. Dosh.....	Shasta.

Mr. White, of Connecticut, offered a resolution pledging the exertions of the Democracy to bring about the single term system.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions without debate.

On motion of Mr. Riddle, of Delaware, it was

Resolved, That the unanimous thanks of this Convention, be and are hereby extended to the Hon. John E. Ward, the presiding officer, and his able assistants, and also to the Hon. A. P. Edgerton, and associates, Committee of Arrangements, and all other officers, for the able, dignified and efficient manner in which they have discharged their respective duties.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

On motion of S. W. Inge, of California,

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention are due, and are hereby specially tendered to Mr. Julius Hesse, of Alabama, and to Alex. F. Gray, of Wisconsin, principal Secretaries, for their energy, zeal, and attention to the laborious duties of the Convention.

Adopted unanimously.

A vote of thanks to the citizens of Cincinnati for their hospitality and kindness during the session of the Convention, was also passed.

On motion, the Convention then adjourned *sine die*.

JOHN E. WARD, President.

WM. K. KIMBALL.
H. KIMBALL.
ISAAC B. BOWDITCH.
J. C. ABBOTT.
WM. J. MILLER.
WM. D. BISHOP.
WM. HANNA.
JOHN N. HUTCHISON.
W. P. SNOW.
WM. F. RITCHIE.
H. G. WILLIAMS.
B. WILSON.
H. BUCHANAN.
JULIUS HESSEE.
A. DERBIS.

W. H. H. DIXON.
AMOS LAYMAN.
SAMUEL WILLIAMS.
JACOB MILLER.
JAMES ELDER.
C. H. LAMPHEIR.
DANIEL D. BERRY.
R. E. JACKSON.
C. C. CHATFIELD.
J. R. BROOKS.
W. C. POLLOCK.
A. T. WALLING.
A. T. GRAY.
J. N. DAWLEY.

Secretaries.

After the motion to adjourn was declared to be carried, the President, on the enthusiastic and repeated call of the Convention came forward and spoke, in substance, as follows :

I have occupied too much of your time to trespass longer on your patience. I came among you an unknown stranger, without a herald to announce me. I have been received by you in a manner, and honored by you with a position far beyond what my fondest hope could have anticipated. New as I was to the duties which belong to that station, I have found you ready and willing, at all times, to forget my errors, and to sustain me in the discharge of those duties. I have made errors which appear as facts on the record ; but I trust I have no faults to be fastened on your recollections. The struggle here has been nobly and manfully contested. Three of the greatest names that adorn our country have been presented to this Convention. They came before it with ardent, noble, devoted friends. Our enemies said in their hearts, like the foes of David, " Ah ha ! Ah ha ! So we would have it." They anticipated what they classically termed a fight of the Kilkenny cats. But what was the result ? The moment the Convention designated a man as the choice of the majority, the minority stepped forward and offered on the altar of their country, a sacrifice of their friendship—the strongest feeling that can animate a man. Though the contest has been warm, it has not been an embittered one ; and when we pass beyond these walls, and go forth to rally around the standard which is borne aloft by that glorious old son of Pennsylvania, and beneath whose mighty shade this whole nation will find repose from the distractions which have agitated it, let us forget the past, and let our quarrels be like those between man and wife—violent while they last, but tending to a closer and sweeter communion.

These remarks were received with loud cheers, after which the crowd of delegates and other spectators separated.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LANCASTER, June 13th, 1856.

SIR:—The National Convention of the Democratic party, which assembled at Cincinnati, on the first Monday in June, unanimously nominated you as a candidate for the office of President of the United States.

We have been directed by the Convention to convey to you this intelligence, and to request you, in their name, to accept the nomination for the exalted trust which the Chief Magistracy of the Union imposes.

The Convention, founding their action upon the time-honored principles of the Democratic party, have announced their views in relation to the chief questions which engage the public mind; and, while adhering to the truths of the past, have manifested the policy of the present in a series of resolutions, to which we invoke your attention.

The Convention feel assured, in tendering to you this signal proof of the respect and esteem of your countrymen, that they truly reflect the opinion which the people of the United States entertain of your eminent character and distinguished public services. They cherish a profound conviction that your elevation to the first office in the Republic, will give a moral guarantee to the country, that the true principles of the Constitution will be asserted and maintained; that the public tranquility will be established; that the tumults of faction will be stilled; that our domestic industry will flourish; that our foreign affairs will be conducted with such wisdom and firmness as to assure the prosperity of the people at home, while the interests and honor of our country are wisely but inflexibly maintained in our intercourse with other nations; and, especially, that your public experience and the confidence of your countrymen, will enable you to give effect to Democratic principles, so as to render indissoluble the strong bonds of mutual interest and national glory which unite our confederacy and secure the prosperity of our people.

While we offer to the country our sincere congratulations upon the fortunate auspices of the future, we tender to you personally, the assurances of the respect and esteem of

Your fellow-citizens,

JOHN E. WARD.
W. A. RICHARDSON.
HARRY HIBBARD.
W. B. LAWRENCE.
A. G. BROWN.
JNO. L. MANNING.
JOHN FORSYTH.
W. PRESTON.
J. RANDOLPH TUCKER.
HORATIO SEYMOUR.

HON. JAMES BUCHANAN.

MR. BUCHANAN'S ACCEPTANCE.

WHEATLAND, (near Lancaster,) }
June 16, 1856. }

GENTLEMEN:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 13th instant, informing me officially of my nomination by the Democratic National Convention, recently held at Cincinnati, as the Democratic candidate for the office of President of the United States. I shall not attempt to express the grateful feelings which I entertain towards my Democratic fellow-citizens for having deemed me worthy of this—the highest political honor on earth—an honor such as the people of no other country have the power to bestow. Deeply sensible of the vast and varied responsibility attached to the station, especially at the present crisis in our affairs, I have carefully refrained from seeking the nomination either by word or by deed. Now, that it has been offered by the Democratic party, I accept it with diffidence in my own abilities, but with an humble trust, that in the event of my election, I may be enabled to discharge my duty in such a manner as to allay domestic strife, preserve peace and friendship with foreign nations, and promote the best interests of the Republic.

In accepting the nomination I need scarcely say that I accept in the same spirit, the resolutions constituting the platform of principles erected by the Convention. To this platform I intend to confine myself throughout the canvass, believing that I have no right, as the candidate of the Democratic party, by answering interrogatories, to present new and different issues before the people.

It will not be expected that in this answer, I should specially refer to the subject of each of the resolutions; and I shall therefore confine myself to the two topics now most prominently before the people.

And in the first place, I cordially concur in the sentiments expressed by the Convention on the subject of civil and religious liberty. No party founded on political or religious intolerance towards one class of American citizens, whether born in our own or in a foreign land, can long continue to exist in this country. We are all equal before God and the Constitution; and the dark spirit of despotism and bigotry which would create odious distinctions among our fellow-citizens, will be speedily rebuked by a free and enlightened public opinion.

The agitation on the question of Domestic Slavery has too long distracted and divided the people of this Union and alienated their affections from each other. This agitation has assumed many forms since its commencement, but it now seems to be directed chiefly to the Territories; and judging from its present character, I think that we may safely anticipate that it is rapidly approaching a "finality." The recent legislation of Congress respecting domestic slavery, derived, as it has been, from the original and pure fountain of legitimate political power, the will of the majority, promises ere long, to allay the dangerous excitement. This legislation is founded upon principles, as ancient as free government itself, and in accordance with them, has simply declared that the people of a Territory, like those of a State, shall decide for themselves, whether slavery shall or shall not exist within their limits.

The Nebraska-Kansas Act does no more than give the force of law to this elementary principle of self-government; declaring it to be "the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom; but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States." This principle will surely not be controverted by any individual of any party professing devotion to popular government. Besides how vain and illusory would any other principle prove in practice in regard to the Territories! This is apparent from the fact admitted by all, that after a territory shall have entered the Union and become a State, no Constitutional power would then exist which could prevent it from either abolishing or establishing slavery, as the case may be, according to its sovereign will and pleasure.

Most happy would it be for the country if this long agitation were at an end. During its whole progress it has produced no practical good to any human being, whilst it has been the source of great and dangerous evils. It has alienated and estranged one portion of the Union from the other, and has even seriously threatened its very existence. To my own personal knowledge, it has produced the impression among foreign nations that our great and glorious confederacy is in constant danger of dissolution. This does us serious injury, because acknowledged power and stability always command respect among nations, and are among the best securities against unjust aggression and in favor of the maintenance of honorable peace.

May we not hope that it is the mission of the Democratic party, now the only surviving conservative party of the country, ere long to overthrow all sectional parties and restore the peace, friendship, and mutual confidence which prevailed in the good old time, among the different members of the confederacy. Its character is strictly national, and it therefore asserts no principle for the guidance of the Federal Government which is not adopted and sustained by its members in each and every State. For this reason it is everywhere the same determined foe of all geographical parties, so much and so justly dreaded by the Father of his Country. From its very nature it must continue to exist so long as there is a Constitution and a Union to preserve. A conviction of these truths has induced many of the purest, the ablest and most independent of our former opponents, who have differed from us in times gone by upon old and extinct party issues, to come into our ranks and devote themselves with us to the cause of the Constitution and the Union. Under these circumstances, I most cheerfully pledge myself, should the nomination of the Convention be ratified by the people, that all the power and influence, constitutionally possessed by the Executive, shall be exerted in a firm but conciliatory spirit, during the single term I shall remain in office, to restore the same harmony among the sister States which prevailed before this apple of discord, in the form of slavery agitation, had been cast into their midst. Let the members of the family abstain from intermeddling with the exclusive domestic concerns of each other, and cordially unite, on the basis of perfect equality among themselves, in promoting the great national objects of common interest to all, and the good work will be instantly accomplished.

In regard to our foreign policy, to which you have referred in your communication,—it is quite impossible for any human foreknowledge to prescribe positive rules in advance, to regulate the conduct of a future administration in all the exigencies which may arise in our various and ever changing relations with foreign powers. The Federal Government must of necessity exercise a sound discretion in dealing with international questions as they may occur; but this under the strict responsibility which the Executive must always feel to the people of the United States and the judgment of posterity. You will therefore excuse me for not entering into particulars; whilst I heartily concur with you in the general sentiment, that our foreign affairs ought to be conducted with such wisdom and firmness as to assure the prosperity of the people at home, whilst the interests and honor of our country are wisely but inflexibly maintained abroad. Our foreign policy ought ever to be based

upon the principle of doing justice to all nations, and requiring justice from them in return; and from this principle I shall never depart.

Should I be placed in the Executive Chair, I shall use my best exertions to cultivate peace and friendship with all nations, believing this to be our highest policy as well as our most imperative duty; but at the same time, I shall never forget that in case the necessity should arise, which I do not now apprehend, our national rights and national honor must be preserved at all hazards and at any sacrifice.

Firmly convinced that a special Providence governs the affairs of nations, let us humbly implore his continued blessing upon our country, and that he may avert from us the punishment we justly deserve for being discontented and ungrateful whilst enjoying privileges above all nations, under such a Constitution and such a Union as has never been vouchsafed to any other people.

Yours, very respectfully,

JAMES BUCHANAN.

Hon. JOHN E. WARD, W. A. RICHARDSON, HARRY HIBBARD, W. B. LAWRENCE,
A. G. BROWN, JOHN L. MANNING, JOHN FORSYTH, W. PRESTON, J. RANDOLPH TUCKER, and HORATIO SEYMOUR, Committee, &c.



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